FEBRUARY 15
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NEW MASSES

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THE NEW SOVIET CHANGES

by JOHN STUART

UNDERCURRENTS IN THE AFL

by J. K. MORTON

NEGRO RIGHTS AND THE COMMUNISTS

by BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

FRANCO'S FRENZIED FRIENDS

by CLAUDE COCKBURN

Also in This Issue: *Earl Browder, Boone Schirmer, Col. T., Paul Rosas, Daniel Prentiss*

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Dear Readers:

Two weeks ago many of you gathered at a meeting to commemorate the death of our beloved Art Young. It was an evening rich in Art's tradition, full of his humor and charm, his clarity and strength. That meeting was held under the auspices of Art Young's magazine, NEW MASSES.

As I sat in the hall I thought of the time when I visited Art and talked to him about doing two cartoons for NM. I didn't realize at the time how great the honor was that had come to me, for those were the last two drawings he did for NEW MASSES. I dropped him a note telling him how much I enjoyed that perfect little speech he had made at the eightieth dinner of his old friend, Ella Reeve Bloor—the speech we reprinted two weeks ago in our special Art Young issue. I suggested it was time we published some original Art Young. He wrote back in characteristic vein:

"I do wish you would come to the hotel some afternoon just for a conference.

"In this epoch of the big change I don't feel as productive as I should like to be—an occasional speech at a banquet and a cartoon now and then is a slow gait for me.

"But before another six months rolls around—have a hunch I'm going to do my best work. At present I seem to be kinda marking time—it's an interlude, a prelude or something before I get busy again. In the meantime an exchange of ideas and thoughts that interest us both might be worth while."

A few days later I went to see him. I noticed that copies of NM were strewn on the sofa of his room at the Hotel Irving. Almost the first thing he said to me was: "I don't know how you fellows do it—bringing out a magazine like that week after week." I felt embarrassed by the admiration in his voice, humble at this tribute from the great Art Young. I haven't the space to tell you of the delightful hour I spent with Art. But out of it came two cartoons: one on the second front, the other on the Nazi debacle in Russia, both done in his incomparable style.

I did not need to tell Art Young what he knew so well, that it was not only the members of the NM staff that made possible its achievements week after week. It is the friends of Art Young—the friends and readers of NEW MASSES all over the country—that are the solid foundation on which this magazine rests. Without their loyal support we couldn't last a week.

And we know that Art Young, were he still with us, would be counting on you this year, as he counted on you in the past, to keep his magazine and yours alive and growing. We're in better shape in 1944 than we've been in for years, and our expanding circulation is evidence of our vitality and of the new opportunities that await us. But we must have $28,000 by May 1 and an additional $12,000 by the end of the year. Can we count on you not only in the mass, but individually, and right away?

Sincerely,

A. B. Magil

(See page 27)

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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Vol. L, No. 7

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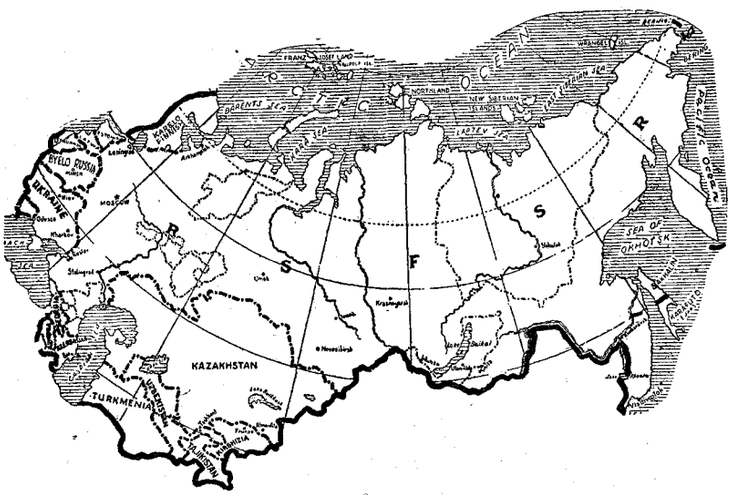
NEW MASSES

VOL. L FEBRUARY 15, 1944 NO. 7



THE NEW SOVIET CHANGES

Molotov's speech reveals the solidarity and independence of Union republics. Full flowering of Stalin's nationalities program. Press response favorable, excluding Lerner and Hearst.

For the fullest appreciation of the significance of Molotov's speech to the Supreme Soviet last week. I can think of nothing better as background reading than a careful study of Stalin's address, made in 1936, on the Draft Constitution. It will immediately puncture the contention that whatever Molotov said was intended to fall as a bombshell in diplomatic circles or that the voting of an enlarged autonomy to the sixteen Union Republics in matters of foreign policy and defense was a step in the direction of "Soviet power politics." Not only is this point of view compounded of ignorance and prejudice but it reveals an utter failure to understand the logic of developments of a quarter century of Soviet life.

Stalin in tracing the limitations of the previous constitution observed that "the draft of the new Constitution is a summary of the path that has been traversed, a summary of the gains already achieved. In other words, it is the registration and legislative embodiment of what has already been achieved and won in actual fact." Here, then, is a key to understanding the constitutional revisions which the Supreme Soviet approved during its recent session. In the eight blazing and stormy years since the adoption of the 1936 basic laws, life has not remained static. In five years of uncertain peace and almost three of war the setting has been created for fresh changes in the relations of the federated republics.

These relations have passed through several stages. Molotov refers to the fact that before the founding of the Soviet Union, there existed in addition to the foreign commissariat of the RSFSR (the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) independent foreign departments in the Ukraine, Byelo-Russia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidjan which in some instances conducted relations with foreign states. This was one stage—a stage dictated by the inner needs of these republics to keep themselves alive against the devastation wrought by the Central Powers and the interventionists. But joint diplomatic representation became essential in 1922 when it was urgent to send a mission to the All-European Economic Congress and a protocol was executed transferring representation to the RSFSR.

The union of the republics took place in the same year and the different foreign offices were combined. The reason for this amalgamation in the conduct of foreign affairs could be found in the more fundamental reason for the amalgamation of the republics. The old, loose relations of the preceding years were no longer satisfactory. The republics were compelled to move closer to each other by their serious internal economic crisis, obliging them to embark on a program of mutual assistance in developing their productive resources.

The second set of factors as Stalin analyzed it in 1922, in a report to the Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, was related to the Soviet government's internal position. This involved the country's military status, its relations with foreign capital through the Commissariat of Foreign Trade, and its diplomatic relations with states abroad. "It should be remembered," Stalin said, "that in spite of the fact that our republics have happily emerged from the condition of civil war, the danger of attack from without is far from eliminated. This danger demands that our military front should be absolutely united, that our army should be an absolutely united army. . . . Furthermore, apart from the military danger, there is a danger of the economic isolation of our federation. . . . There is a danger that our republics may become economically isolated. This new form of intervention, which is no less dangerous than military intervention, can be eliminated only by the creation of a united economic front of our Soviet republics in face of the capitalist encirclement. Finally, there is our diplomatic situation. You have all been witnesses of how recently, on the eve of the Lausanne Conference [held in November 1922, to conclude peace between Greece and Turkey], the Entente states made every effort to isolate our federation. Diplomatically, they did not succeed. The organized diplomatic boycott of our federation was broken. The Entente was forced to reckon with our federation and to a certain extent to beat a retreat.

"There are no grounds for assuming that such and similar cases of diplomatic isolation of our federation will not be repeated. Hence the necessity for a united front along diplomatic lines also."

This quotation is worth pondering and I cite it at length because it becomes immediately clear that decentralization of the Soviet diplomatic apparatus was inevitable once the causes for a joint foreign commissariat were eliminated or on their way towards elimination. The world scene is now such that after Teheran, Soviet leadership is convinced that it can live peacefully side by side with the capitalist democracies. Churchill, Stalin, and Roosevelt have agreed to "work together in the war and in the peace that will follow." Their concord is such that the Soviet gov-

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ernment is of the firm belief that capitalist countries and the major capitalist circles in them have given up their hostility of the past and replaced it with a policy whereby outstanding differences can be settled amicably without resort to war—war against the mightiest military power on earth. In other words the two systems' leaders are eager for collaboration to their mutual benefit. And such friendship necessarily shows itself not only in altered attitudes, one towards the other, but results, it seems to me, in practical changes in Soviet state forms which in the past had been geared for the eventualities and surprises of a Munich and pre-Teheran world. The new revisions in the Soviet Constitution summarize, as Stalin said on another occasion, "the path that has been traversed . . . the gains already achieved"; they register what has been won in actual fact not only on the field of battle but in international relations.

These revisions also exemplify the dynamics of Soviet life. But above all they are a tribute to Stalin's handling of the problems facing a multi-national state. In time of war timid men might be fearful that enlarging autonomy would result in greater stresses and strains, perhaps in chaos. As Molotov put it, it is not every state that in wartime "would venture to undertake such important transformations." But the Soviet Republics thrive on autonomy, while the war strengthens and expands the basic unity of all Soviet peoples.

THE capitalist world is perhaps not familiar with all the details of Stalin's fruitful work on the problems of nationalities or what his program achieved in reversing the czarist policy of the supremacy of the Great Russians. Under the czars it was only the western borderlands that were developed, while other areas remained beyond civilization. Under the Soviet regime and with Stalin's guidance capital flowed into the hinterland. New cities arose in the Siberian wilds. In the Asiatic republics modern industry mushroomed and brought formerly nomadic peoples to unprecedented standards of living. There can be little doubt that were it not for the Lenin-Stalinist nationalities policy, the USSR might have faced defeat in this war. Hitler made great efforts to find a crack among the Soviet nations. Instead he found the greatest solidarity. The first bullet that struck a Red Army man was felt in every corner of the vast land from the Arctic to Turkestan.

Then again, change and forward movement, in planned and controlled fashion, are the key characteristics of the Soviet community as a whole. I make this point since it is now more than apparent that many other Soviet changes are in the offing. What they will be only time will tell, but change is undoubtedly the perspective now that it is certain that the invader will be beaten to a pulp and hurled out of the country.

The realization that victory impends raises problems for the Union Republics as well as for the Soviet government as a whole. The republics, for example, are undoubtedly beginning to think about reconstruction, about new designs for living within the socialist economy, about the correction of shortcomings revealed by the war. Some of these republics, especially those on the western borderland, will need more assistance in rehabilitating themselves than republics which have not felt the fullest impact of the Nazi tornado. This difference in needs creates special problems which can be dealt with best by the separate Unions, who, under the new revisions of the constitution now have greater opportunities to participate independently in matters concerned with international relief through their separate foreign departments.

Then, too, there are republics which because of their geographical position can undertake fruitful relations with foreign states in which other Union Republics have no direct or special interest. For example, the Republic of Uzbekistan, far to the south, can negotiate a special treaty with Afghanistan—a treaty which would be of no direct concern to the Estonian or Karelo-Finnish Republics to the north. If I may use a rather loose analogy, oversimplified, it is as though a Los Angeles local of a national trade union entered negotiations with a Los Angeles company in which a New York local has no interest except as it strengthens the union as a whole. As I say, this is much too simple an illustration, but it does indicate the rich possibilities of autonomy in foreign affairs for the Union Republics.

Molotov also remarks in his speech that because the Soviet Constitution did not allow for the exchange of diplomatic representatives by the Union Republics with other states, this has been "interpreted to the direct detriment of the interests of the Soviet Republics and the Soviet Union as a whole." The amended constitution now provides for exchanges of diplomatic missions, and eliminates the criticism, from whatever quarters, that diplomatic practices are imposed on the Unions from Moscow regardless of the Unions' special interests. The new procedure in the case of Latvia, Lithuania, and Esthonia could mean, for example, that these states can send ambassadors to the United States, England, Canada or elsewhere for the negotiation of treaties and the transaction of business solely of interest to them. If it has been the contention of our government that the Baltics had been completely engorged and have no independent rights of their own, then the new Soviet diplomatic practice answers these arguments completely. For the only concern of our government is not in the internal life of these states or with whom these states have chosen to federate, but whether these states can act independently in their relations with other powers. Autonomy in foreign relations is all that need worry us.

I venture these suggestions on some of the practical consequences of the Soviet constitutional revisions because I cannot fathom the minds of those rarified commentators who saw in the revisions everything from power politics, to "needling" of the United Nations, to "cryptic" pressure, to a battle between the British empire and the USSR, to a use of sixteen extra votes with which the USSR would bludgeon the participants at the peace conference, etcetera and double etcetera.

What can be said in general about these "arguments" is that some of them echo Berlin broadcasts, which condemns them immediately, and that the others are the by-products of ignorance working with prejudice. These patently ridiculous points have called forth answers from conservative commentators on the radio and in the press, notably from Walter Lippmann, Dorothy Thompson, the New York *Herald Tribune*, and David Lawrence, a columnist with considerable influence in business circles.

It was Max Lerner, however, writing in New York's *PM*, who in a frantic and absurd editorial, made even more absurd by another, two days later, embodied all the categories of nonsense that greeted Molotov's speech. To answer Lerner is to answer them all. By making one of his descents from his lofty perch into the political sewer, Lerner again demonstrates how the fear of being labelled Red, how the drive to maintain a so-called independent position, leads him into one trap after another, and finally to certain ideas which when expressed by him are somewhat better fashioned but no less harmful than when they appear in the Hearst press.

No one should be surprised that this trained political scientist displays colossal ignorance of facts, for it is this ignorance that emboldens his prejudices. Early in his comment, Lerner asserts that the Union Republics (he calls them "Russian Soviet Republics," when the fact is that in the USSR there is only one such republic) have had only cultural autonomy in the past. As one who has frequently showed great delight in dealing with constitutional matters, a quick glance at the Soviet Constitution would have told him that in addition to cultural autonomy the republics have sovereign rights in all matters not limited by Article 14; and these limitations are only those which the state as a whole can deal with more effectively, such as a uniform system of national economic statistics, direction of the monetary and credit system, transport, communication, etc. The republics have sovereign rights, in addition now to defense and foreign affairs, and their own People's Commissariats for various republic industries as well as for agriculture, state grain and livestock farms,

(*Continued on page 26*)

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UNDERCURRENTS IN THE AFL

GOP-Woll-Hutcheson plot to return Lewis to AFL unproductive and may be until after '44 elections. Anti-Soviet die-hards score at council meeting but remain jittery. By J. K. Morton.

PERHAPS no other meeting of the American Federation of Labor executive council received such widespread attention, at home and abroad, as the one concluded in Miami, Fla., the fourth week of January 1944. Notwithstanding its miserable failure on the decisive issue of international trade union unity, the council made a number of important win-the-war decisions in reaffirming the no-strike pledge and registering strong support for the soldier vote and the billion dollar subsidy program. The Red Cross received a powerful boost from this meeting, which will have favorable effects on all phases of war activities in the AFL. And a tremendously significant win-the-war action of the council was the rebuff administered to John L. Lewis in delaying his re-entry into the AFL. This is of highest importance considering the crucial issue of the fourth term and the 1944 elections generally.

As at the Boston convention, these positive contributons were accompanied and to a great extent negated by the council's destructive position on the major question of the London Conference and international labor unity. The refusal to participate in the London Conference, the futile objective of isolating the Soviet trade unions, and the arrogant insistence upon the exclusion of the CIO and other powerful labor groups—aimed at insuring AFL monopoly in international labor affairs—can serve only the defeatist camp. Such a policy undermines the decisions of Teheran and the foreign policy of President Roosevelt, and erects a most dangerous obstruction to labor cooperation at home, so vital for the defeat of reaction in 1944. This anti-Soviet, anti-United Nations policy serves as the main base of operations for the reactionary Woll-Hutcheson bloc in the council, from which they direct flank attacks against the administration program and national unity. With such an advantage in the hands of the Woll-Hutcheson bloc, it is not surprising that the council failed to offer energetic and adequate support to the President's message to Congress, and centered its major attention upon opposition to a national service act. Nor did the council deem it necessary to give any consideration to the Negro question, despite the growing and urgent manifestations of this problem within the AFL. On the whole, therefore, the council made little advance in relation to its previous position. So far at least, the meaning of Teheran has not registered in its policies and decisions.

THE results of the meeting were not surprising to those even slightly familiar with the record of this hardened, crustified council of the "aged." In this sense, the results could not be accurately described as disappointing. Yet, for a few days, great masses of interested observers, in all parts of the world, held their breath. Even the most skeptical entertained a slight hope that the impact of Teheran, the momentous initiative of British labor in calling a world labor congress, the crucial 1944 elections in the United States, would produce some departure in the thinking and practices of the AFL hierarchy. The impact of these world-shaking developments failed to budge the Miami conference. The council meeting was but the continuation of the Boston convention of the AFL. Tasks which required the labor of giants and the vision of statesmen could not be performed by mental and spiritual pygmies whose chief concern is their own perpetuation in office. Unfortunately these pygmies hold the lever which operates and directs the giant power of 6,500,000 members of the AFL.

This is not to say, however, that the

"Italian People," from the William Gropper exhibition at ACA Gallery February 7 to 27.

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leadership of the AFL does not move at all. Even the most stubborn of creatures will move when sufficient weight is supplied from behind. Its legs may be stiff and leave deep furrows in the ground; it may resist and delay the progress of the journey—still it must move. The council has moved and moves in this fashion. While the analogy may describe the movement of the council roughly, it is not wholly applicable. For the council is not made up of harmonious parts. The Woll-Hutcheson combination represents its reactionary Republican wing, deeply rooted in the defeatist-negotiated-peace camp. Green, Tobin, and others represent those who support President Roosevelt and the war effort, but whose conservative thinking and ingrained prejudices make this support inconsistent, restricted, and frequently self-negating. Still other members of the council tend towards a consistently progressive position, but have not as yet taken aggressive action on their position.

THE Woll-Hutcheson reactionaries constitute the most aggressive and loudest section of the council. They have been able to impose their policy on major questions such as international trade union unity, and Matthew Woll acts boldly as public spokesman.

The processes by which the executive council arrives at decisions and formulates policy are extremely intricate. It would require an authority like William Z. Foster to explain the maze of factors, motives, and considerations which governs the reasoning of individual council members and determines the sum total of their conclusions. However, some aspects of the methods are apparent. These are to confine differences within the framework of the council, to bargain and compromise over all differences, whatever their nature, so as to present "unanimous" decisions to the membership and the world at large; to do the thinking and determine all major questions of policy on top, while restricting the thinking and activity of the membership to trade union channels in the strictest and narrowest sense. This method serves to perpetuate control and to impose an unwritten code of behavior for council members. Those who "rock the boat" once may return to the fold as repentant sinners, but are never fully forgiven.

This serene situation, however, is being subjected to severe strain by the stormy seas of the war, and the winds which blow from Teheran. New problems have come to the fore demanding clear, unequivocal policy. Millions of new members have come into the AFL, their thinking influenced by the war and by Teheran, their activities, particularly on the political field, growing and demanding democratic expression. A new, militant, progressive center has emerged on the American scene—the CIO with its Political Action Com-

Helen West Heller

mittee, its rounded-out consistent program for winning the war, for securing jobs and equal status for Negroes in the union, including their promotion to responsible positions from top to bottom in the CIO.

Powerful factors of this kind are forcing to the surface the political undercurrents already at play within the council. The issue of John L. Lewis offers a good example, both of the differences in the council and the technique employed to conceal the roots of these differences.

According to the official version, the council is ready to welcome Lewis back into the AFL. The only obstacle, allegedly, is one of jurisdiction. The Boston convention set up a special committee to iron out precisely this jurisdictional knot. The question of Lewis has been before the AFL for a full year. And what are the results? The AFL requires the United Mine Workers, if it returns to the Federation, to do so with the same jurisdiction it enjoyed before it left; a committee is authorized to settle with Lewis jurisdictional conflicts prior to reaffiliation. One is compelled to ask, why did it take a full year to arrive at this decision? Why did not the same jurisdictional problem result in the same conclusion last May 1943? Perhaps part of the answer to these questions may be found in the *Times* story of January 25, which states: "None of the executive council members would predict that the questions still separating the miners from the AFL would be settled by May. *One member said that the miners may be kept at arm's length until after the national elections in November.*" (My emphasis—J.K.M.).

The uninitiated may protest on the grounds that the council said nothing about the 1944 elections. Furthermore, nothing was said about Lewis' defeatist opposition to the war and President Roosevelt, his violation of the no-strike pledge, his anti-Semitism, etc. Are not these political questions involving principle and morality? Questions which the council reacts to at the mere mention of the Soviet Union, but would never inject into a "pure" trade union issue such as John L. Lewis? Indeed, considerations entering into the Lewis issue are varied and complex. They include such questions as Lewis' place on the council and who would be "pushed out" if he came in; and what would happen once Lewis got in, and to whom, etc. Some who fear and oppose Lewis are, nevertheless, tempted by the prospect of "settling scores" with the CIO by joining forces with him. And if Lewis comes back, they want him to come hat in hand, on their own terms, shorn of power as much as possible.

But, after all, why did Lewis apply for readmission? Why is the Republican Hutcheson so anxious and zealous to get Lewis back in? It is only necessary to put this question to see its political implications, particularly with regard to the 1944 elections. Herein lies the major explanation for the protracted struggle over the Lewis issue. The Miami decision of the council constitutes a serious defeat for Lewis, for the Woll-Hutcheson forces in the AFL, and for the reactionary Republican forces in the political arena of 1944.

It is a fact of first-rate importance that the Woll-Hutcheson reactionaries were unable to impose their will on the council, and failed to bring to realization the Lewis-Woll-Hutcheson Republican conspiracy, despite the victory of reaction on the major question confronting the council, that of the London world labor congress and international labor unity.

The chief theoretician and exponent of anti-Soviet policy is Matthew Woll, who in this matter leans heavily on the assistance and collaboration of the Social-Democratic Dubinsky forces and anti-Soviet scum of the type of Raphael Abramovich, Menshevik plotter now in the United States. Woll's record of initiating and participating in every form of anti-Soviet activities is notorious. This record includes the campaigns against Soviet "dumping," "forced labor," glowing letters of support to President Coolidge for the latter's policy of non-recognition of the Soviet Union, and others too numerous to mention. Matthew Woll is the embodiment of anti-Soviet policy which stands clearly exposed as disastrous to the security of the United States.

Yet this man calls the tune in the council on vital policy relating to the Soviet trade unions and international labor unity. He is able to do so because of the ingrained hatred and prejudices against the Soviet Union still prevalent in the leadership of the AFL. Despite lip-service of support to the "brave Russian people" and their army, the attitude of the council towards the Soviet Union basically has not changed. The position of the council is irreconcilable with the decisions of Teheran, the needs of the war, of lasting peace and postwar reconstruction. It conflicts

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with the basic interests and welfare of the membership of the AFL. Consequently this position is untenable. The Woll-Dubinsky anti-Soviet machinations have led the AFL into a blind alley. The AFL will hardly be able to travel long in that direction. This dilemma is implied in the following comment of the Manchester *Guardian*: "There is a touch of the ludicrous in the refusal of the AFL to accept the Trade Union Council's invitation to attend the World Trade Union Conference in London. The AFL will not attend because the Russians have been invited. The AFL is all in favor of recognizing the Russians by fighting on the same side and by permitting Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hull to meet them."

ACCORDING to Louis Stark of the New York *Times*, President Green was asked how an international labor gathering could exclude the Soviet trade unions. "He replied that he recognized that labor groups from Russia would be represented at the peace table with labor groups from all the United Nations, but contended that there was a difference between such a meeting and one held 'by the free and democratic trade unions for the purpose of formulating the policy of the free, democratic labor movement.'"

Some may see a solution to Mr. Green's predicament in the projected conference in April, two months before the London conference, of the International Labor Organization, on which the council places great emphasis. In fact, we learn from the January 1944 number of the *Federationist* that: "The decision to hold the next International Labor Conference in the United States and in April was a blow to sponsors of an international trade union conference planned to open in London in June."

On the other hand, the International Labor Office News Service reported Edward J. Phelan, acting director of the ILO, as saying that "the question of representation of the Soviet Union at the Philadelphia conference had been discussed by the governing body, and added that it was his hope that Soviet delegates would attend."

It would seem from this that Mr. Green's problem of excluding the Soviet trade unions from an international gathering is far from solved. There are indications that some elements in the council and others outside of it, such as Philip Pearl, AFL publicity director, and anti-Soviet refugee groups, intend to direct the AFL along the lines of active hostility towards the Soviet Union in such matters as the settlement of the Polish question, the terms of peace settlement and internal affairs of the Soviet Union itself. One thing is certain, if the decisions and the spirit of Teheran are realized, these elements will face complete bankruptcy. The two are mutually exclusive.

Even in the negative decisions of Miami it is possible to recognize the elements of retreat. *The last-ditch positions are crumbling.* The necessity of convening the ILO conference in April, and even the efforts to counter-pose it to the London conference, constitute a recognition that old remedies no longer help, that "something" has to be done. The policy of isolating the Soviet trade unions is taking the shape of a boomerang that may well isolate and bring disaster and discredit upon all who are associated with such a policy.

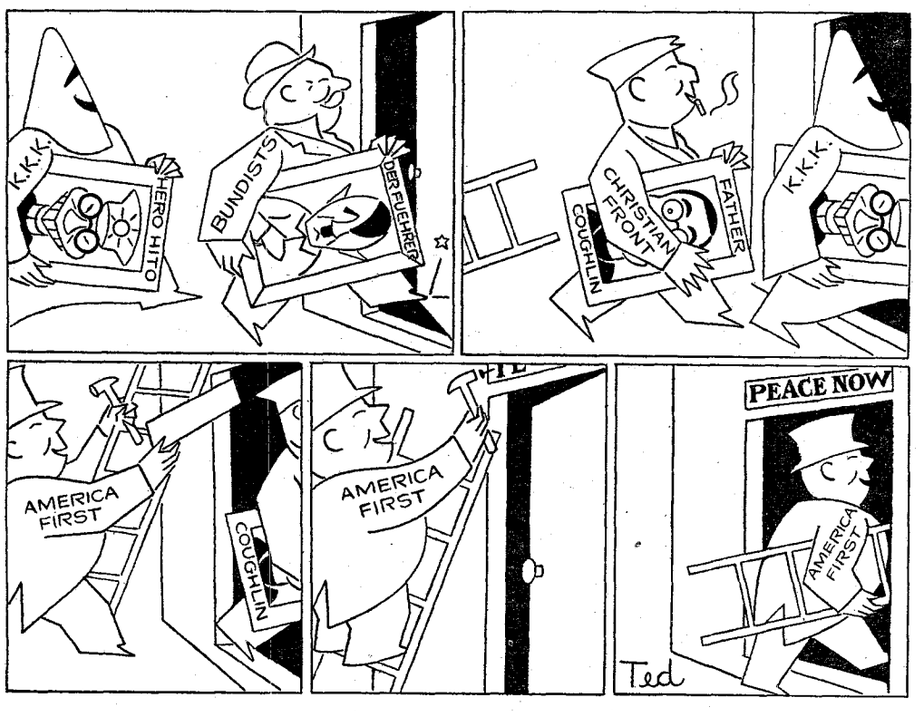
As these lines are being written, the press carries notice of a most significant development within the AFL. The forthcoming issue of the *Teamster* will publish an article by Daniel Tobin, head of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, urging that the AFL reevaluate its attitude toward the Soviet trade unions and international labor unity. "Conditions have changed in Russia," Mr. Tobin says. "We must not hold rigidly to our past opinions if we find it necessary and up-to-date to change them. The entire world has changed as a result of this war. Our present civilization was in jeopardy and the Russians did their share to save it."

Fateful words: particularly so considering that Mr. Tobin heads the AFL's most powerful contingent. Highly significant, too, as George Morris, labor editor of the *Daily Worker* says, because they come a few days after the AFL executive council's refusal to send delegates to the World Trade Union Congress "because of Soviet participation." Quite obviously Mr. Tobin reflects the changed national attitude toward the Soviet Union; it is quite clear that top AFL circles are far from monolithic on this score.

Between the executive council and the lower organizations and membership of the AFL is a growing chasm. More and more these two speak a different language. The language of the membership and its actions assume ever greater resemblance to the language and actions of the CIO membership. This growing understanding is being reflected most of all in the nationwide movement for joint or parallel actions of labor on the political field. This movement, which tends to unite all sections of labor around a common platform and especially the urgent tasks presented by the 1944 elections, is at the same time the most powerful lever for the eventual organic unification of the American labor movement.

Local unions, city and state bodies of the AFL increasingly join hands with the CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods on the political field. They go on record in support of the fourth term and international labor unity, against readmission of John L. Lewis, against the poll-tax, for justice and equality for the Negro people. This powerful trend below—which frequently makes decisions conflicting with the policies of the council—the council is unable to stop or reverse. No doubt some of the council members are unwilling to reverse this trend. The growth of this trend into a powerful country-wide expression around a program of national issues, or possibly the emergence of at least one powerful AFL international as the proponent of such a progressive program—will create the conditions for open realignment of forces even within the seclusion of the executive council. Under such conditions its members will have to stand up and be counted. The sheep will be separated from the goats.

J. K. MORTON.



Birds of a feather.

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REPLY TO A LIBEL

Councilman Davis answers attacks on Communists in regard to Negro rights. Not a party or racial issue but "a supreme issue of democracy."

This article was not written for Negro History Week, which opens February 13, but we know of no more appropriate time for its publication. Its author is a distinguished leader of the Negro people and one of the two Communist members of the New York City Council. Councilman Davis was the sponsor of a resolution unanimously passed by the council calling on Mayor La Guardia officially to proclaim the week of February 13-19 Negro History Week.—The Editors.

A SERIES of attacks have been made recently against the Communist Party on the issue of Negro rights. They have emanated primarily from defeatist sources, with such newspapers as the New York *World-Telegram* and the Hearst chain carrying the ball, although some allegedly responsible papers have been running interference.

No one, of course, is surprised at the Scripps-Howard papers, whose Woltman and Pegler take delight in proving that the "oldest profession" is not confined to the female sex; and William Randolph Hearst's name has been long synonymous with fascism. These publications, together with the New York *Daily News*, constitute a triumvirate of pro-Axis poison within metropolitan newspaperdom. But a little eyebrow raising is in order when the *Times* and the *Herald Tribune*, both of which are committed to the winning of the war, stoop to slander. The *Tribune* has followed a broadly consistent course, editorially speaking, in support of the President's foreign policy, evidencing a capacity to remove the anti-Communist mote from one of its eyes in viewing the international scene. Unfortunately, the anti-Communist mote remains in the other eye, coloring its observations of domestic events. Since the foreign and domestic fronts are inseparable, insofar as victory and the peace are concerned, the anti-Communist mote in either eye is likely to affect the other.

It was the *Herald Tribune* in a recent editorial which expressed most crudely and bluntly the essence of this libelous campaign against the Communists. It charged that Communists incite the Negro people to "unreason, lawlessness, and violence." That, of course, is a very hoary one, since all informed people know that the Communists are opposed to force and violence —with the very important exception which history has made, that is, the forcible extirpation of Hitlerism in Berlin and Tokyo by the United Nations. I might make short shrift of the whole bald, fantastic charge simply by asking the *Tribune:* when and where did the Communists incite the Negro people to violence? What is the word, the deed, the policy of the Communists upon which the *Tribune* based its accusation? The truth is that there is no such word, deed, or policy of the Communists which by the wildest stretch of the imagination could be so interpreted by reasonable men, assuming of course that the *Tribune* wishes to come within this category. Since the *Tribune* adduced no proof to substantiate its claim, I could stop right there, but not without a warning to the *Tribune* that such irresponsible charges are journalistically criminal and morally reprehensible, particularly against a political organization whose members are to be found everywhere in the vanguard of sacrifices for the independence and honor of their country. I might add also that such irresponsible charges themselves bear the seeds of violence, division, and lawlessness, which the *Tribune* claims to abhor.

BUT instead of ending the discussion at this point because of the absence of proof, I want to take advantage of the opportunity to develop positively the views and activities of the Communists with reference to Negro rights, devoting particular attention to the question raised by the *Tribune*. No better example of the policies and activities of the Communists in this field can be given than the August 1943 outbreak in Harlem. That outbreak involved violence and lawlessness, although fortunately it did not take the form of violence directed against persons. If indeed the Communists relished violence among the Negro people, here was a situation made to order which, theoretically, according to the *Tribune*, we should have taken to like the proverbial rabbit takes to the briar patch. But what were the facts?

In that situation the Communists joined with the Negro citizens of Harlem, with labor, and with the city authorities under the leadership of the La Guardia administration in helping restore order in the Harlem community. The Communists worked together with others to guard against fifth column provocations by Ku Kluxers, Christian Fronters, and other types of fascists who sought to turn August 1 into another Detroit. The Communists worked jointly with others to curb window smashing and looting, assisting the community, of which they are a part, in bringing the disorders under control. Further, a message by myself as secretary of the Harlem Communist Party, which was issued in 100,000 copies, characterized August 1 as follows: "The form of protest was utterly wrong. It is not the way to fight Hitlerism abroad and fascist reaction at home. The Negro people themselves know this. That is why the great majority of them refused to participate in the looting. That is why they acted so quickly and effectively to transform the chaos into order. It must not happen again—in Harlem or anywhere else in our city."

The facts of the August outbreak demonstrate that the Communists are a stabilizing force, opposing disorganized and undisciplined methods of struggle, even though it is clear that the Negro people were spontaneously acting against Jim Crow conditions which democratic-minded but too complacent citizens have allowed Hitler admirers to keep in force too long. This outbreak was not only harmful to the war effort, but to the mature, united discipline through which the Negro people, in solidarity with labor and white progressives, will win their full citizenship. August 1 was only one example of the established policy of the Communist Party of utilizing ordered, peaceful, and organized methods of struggle. Such methods are particularly necessary in a patriotic war of national liberation.

LET us take another example. The Communists identify themselves with the deep indignation of the Negro masses expressed through the March on Washington movement, supporting the demands of these masses for the elimination of Jim Crow. The Communists have, however, sharply dissociated themselves from the reckless and divisive methods of the March on Washington leadership headed by A. Philip Randolph, and have vigorously opposed these methods as harmful to the Negroes as well as to the war effort. When the leaders of this movement—yielding to provocateur-Trotskyite influence — talked of starting a "civil disobedience" campaign among the Negro people, they didn't get to first base. Such a campaign would only aid the Hitlerites at home and abroad, since the Negro people and their allies are principally concerned with seeing that all those reactionaries in the country who violate the Negro's constitutional rights are themselves made to obey the law of the land—specifically, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. That was and still is the issue.

Moreover, in the course of the present patriotic war, the Negro people have made their decision. Instead of "civil disobedi-

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ence"—the slogan of the Klan gangsters—they prefer that the poll taxers and the "white supremacy" crowd be compelled to obey the law. Instead of marching on Washington they prefer to march on those who insist upon wrecking such historically significant agencies as President Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practices Committee. Remove the restrictions of Jim Crow from the Negro soldier, and let him fight in equality and unity with his white fellow soldier, and Hitler and Hirohito will be smashed the sooner.

Implicit in the charge of the *Herald Tribune* against the Communists is a libel against the whole colored population of the country—that they are "children" given to lawlessness, irresponsibility, and violence as a people. Actually the Negro citizenry is one of the most advanced of all America's minorities. Last November, outstanding Negro leaders, representing every trend of thought among their people, met together, hammered out a joint statement for victory over Hitlerism abroad and reaction at home and called for collaboration with labor in achieving victory for the win-the-war camp in the 1944 elections. Among the signers of the statement were: Walter White, Max Yergan, Ferdinand Smith, A. Philip Randolph, Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., Mrs. Mary MacLeod Bethune, AFL leaders and others. This statement represents perhaps the highest stage ever reached among the Negro people in recent times and could not have been possible if it had not reflected the growing degree of understanding among the Negro masses. It lays the basis for forging strong bonds of unity with white progressives and with the organized labor movement, the natural ally of the Negro people and their staunchest supporter.

IF THESE are the facts, then we must look deeper for the implications of the *Herald Tribune's* editorial. This editorial was unadulterated Red-baiting, a resort to Hitler's secret weapon, out of keeping with this newspaper's pro-war position. Based as it was upon an immoral and dangerous lie, it should give a lot of people pause about the origins and worth of Red-baiting. Red-baiting, though it may glitter, has the brilliance of impending doom. It has come too late in history for a new era of unchallenged sway, and the New York electorate roundly repudiated it with the election of several win-the-war City Councilmen, among whom were two Communists. The fact that I was elected by a combination of Negro, labor, and white anti-fascist votes was highly significant. Red-baiting, long persona non grata among the Negro people, is even more so today, thanks to their developing political maturity.

That Red-baiting leads to the abyss of political degradation can be seen in the case of Negro "leader" Frank Crosswaith, of the Negro Labor Committee in Harlem. It may seem strange for a Negro, but Mr. Crosswaith finds himself in the camp of enemies of the Negro people because he has been blinded to reality by the anti-Communist mote in his eye. Recently he has served as finger-man for the *World-Telegram*, pointing out the so-called Reds in various progressive Negro people's organizations in New York. He has attempted that job so faithfully that he was recently wined and dined editorially by the *World-Telegram*, inspirer of the worst mugging slanders against the Harlem community. Of course, Mr. Crosswaith is also carrying out the orders of David Dubinsky, czar of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and of the right-wing camp in the American Labor Party. Yet even Mr. Crosswaith ought to be taken aback at some of the friends he is making. If he would face facts and catch up with the historical period in which we live, he might see issues instead of red herrings.

Evidently what is most disturbing to the fomenters of this Red-baiting campaign with respect to Negro rights, is the democratic position of the Communists on the issue. The Communists are, as Earl Browder pointed out in his recent report to the Communist national committee, unyielding, uncompromising and intransigeant in their insistence that our democracy be purged of Jim Crow, anti-Semitism, and racial discrimination of all types, open and subtle. They are equally insistent upon the full citizenship rights of Americans who are Communists, not only because they are legally entitled to these rights under the Constitution, but also because anti-Communism is a fascist weapon.

The possibility of ending the Jim Crow system, with its related abuses against other minorities, is today greater than ever due to the patriotic war we are fighting and the character of that war as one of national liberation. The alternative to ending Jim Crow is civil strife, Detroits, Harlems, Mobiles, Los Angeles' and violence of a type which will effectively prevent the national unity which is necessary to win the war most speedily and fulfill the perspective opened by the Teheran agreements.

The Communists do not wish a monopoly on the fight for Negro rights. The job is too big for any one party or group. Moreover, it is not a party or racial issue. It is a supreme issue of democracy and national safety for all Americans, one that requires all their combined strength. Despite tragic and criminal setbacks, the progress which is being made on the issue of Negro rights is taking place because the great labor movement is accepting responsibility for pressing for the ending of the poll tax, job discrimination and Jim Crow throughout the land, and because President Roosevelt, supported by millions of enlightened citizens, is giving the kind of leadership exemplified in the creation of the FEPC. The movement for the full freedom of Negro Americans is today on the broad highway of victory and Teheran. The job of speeding that movement is one for all Americans, whatever their station in life, capitalist or worker, white or black. BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.

"Magnesium Bomb," by Helen West Heller.

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CIVIL WAR TURNING POINT

Two-front war of armies of East and West begun in 1864 was urged by Marx in 1862. Achieved only after northern masses protested "McClellanism."

Now that active preparations are under way for the opening of the second front in western Europe, it might be well to recall some of the military experiences of our own Civil War. For the Civil War affords us an illuminating example of the classic strategy of two-front war. The forces of the North were divided into the armies of the East and the armies of the West. In February 1862 General Grant, leading the armies of the West, captured Fort Donelson, clearing Kentucky of the Southern armies. Karl Marx, in an article in the Vienna *Freie Presse* in March 1862, estimated Grant's victory in the following terms:

"In consequence of the clearing of Missouri and the reconquest of Kentucky the theater of war has so far narrowed that the different armies can cooperate to a certain extent along the whole line of operations and work for the achievement of definite results. In other words, the war now takes on for the first time a *strategic* character, and the geographical configuration of the country acquires a new interest. It is now the task of the Northern generals to find the Achilles heel of the Southern states."

Marx pointed to the conquest of Georgia and the division of the Confederacy into two separate parts as the "Achilles heel" of the Confederacy, since there was no highly populated metropolis whose capture would break Southern resistance. In 1862 Marx called for "concerted stategy" between the armies of the East and West to achieve the conquest of Georgia and hence to shorten the war. However, it was not till 1864 that this concerted strategy was achieved. What caused the delay?

The immediate military cause was the policy of McClellan, the general in full command of the armies of the North at the time Marx wrote. In a letter written in July 1862, to President Lincoln, McClellan outlined his conception of the political aims of the war and the manner in which they should be achieved. "The Constitution and the Union must be preserved. . . . Neither confiscation of property . . . nor forcible abolition of slavery should be contemplated for a moment. . . . The policy of the government must be supported by concentrations of military power. The national forces should not be dispersed in expeditions, posts of occupation, and numerous armies, but should be mainly collected into masses, and brought to bear upon the armies of the Confederate states." As long as McClellan was in command he held the view that the armies of the North had not reached sufficient "concentrations of military power," had not been sufficiently "collected into masses," to be "brought to bear upon the armies of the Confederate States." The military policy of McClellan, known as the "anaconda" policy, had only one tangible result: the indefinite postponement of decisive battle.

Thus in 1861-62 Lincoln complained that McClellan had the "slows." McClellan defended his inactivity by calling for more men and supplies; or when forced into battle, he avoided pressing for a decisive victory, as at Antietam, claiming that the Confederates were stronger than he. There is only one instance of his acting with decision: when the Hutchinson family, who sang anti-slavery songs to the Northern troops, came to his camp he immediately had them expelled.

The North had superiority over the South in men and resources. Delay in the full utilization of this superiority on the field of battle dovetailed with the need of the Confederacy to negate the Northern advantage by attaining victory either through a "blitzkrieg" offensive or through foreign intervention and Northern disaffection. Before the war was over McClellan's military policy had exposed itself as one that never had within it the potential of military victory, but rather, at most, that of negotiated peace. For the "anaconda" policy saw its full political flowering in the nomination of McClellan by the Copperhead Vallandigham of Ohio as a candidate against Lincoln in 1864 on the Democratic platform of negotiated peace. (To be sure, McClellan disclaimed the platform, but the platform claimed him. Vallandigham knew his general!)

However, the military policy of McClellan was only the secondary cause of the delay in achieving concerted strategy by the Northern forces. The primary cause was a political condition of which McClellan was only the military expression. The "anaconda" policy had its roots in the "constitutional" waging of the war that preoccupied the Lincoln administration for the first period of the war, and without which McClellan could not have operated militarily. To wage the war "constitutionally" meant to wage it in such a manner that slavery, the true cause of the conflict, should not be touched, as McClellan had prescribed in his letter of July 1862. The Lincoln administration carried out this policy under pressure of the slaveholders of the border states and the pro-slavery Democrats of the North. (The Democratic and pro-slavery McClellan had been

Salute to the Soviet Armies

Mighty Soviet armies marching to the West,
Red star on your visor, courage in your breast!
Mighty Soviet armies, warriors brave and strong,
Freedom is your watchword as you forge along!
The eyes of all the people, poor upon the earth,
Follow your great battle for mankind's rebirth.
Mighty Soviet armies, allies, comrades, friends,
We will march beside you till fascism ends.

Mighty Soviet armies, guard your fatherland!
The earth of your union warms the hope of man.
Fascist foes surround you with their ring of steel,
But your warriors crush them with a workman's heel.
Never will the people let them rise again.
Death to fascist tyrants! Death to Nazis' reign!
Mighty Soviet armies, allies of the free,
We will fight beside you until victory!
Mighty Soviet armies, now as one we stand,
Allies all together for the cause of man!
Salute to the Soviet armies—from our land!

LANGSTON HUGHES.

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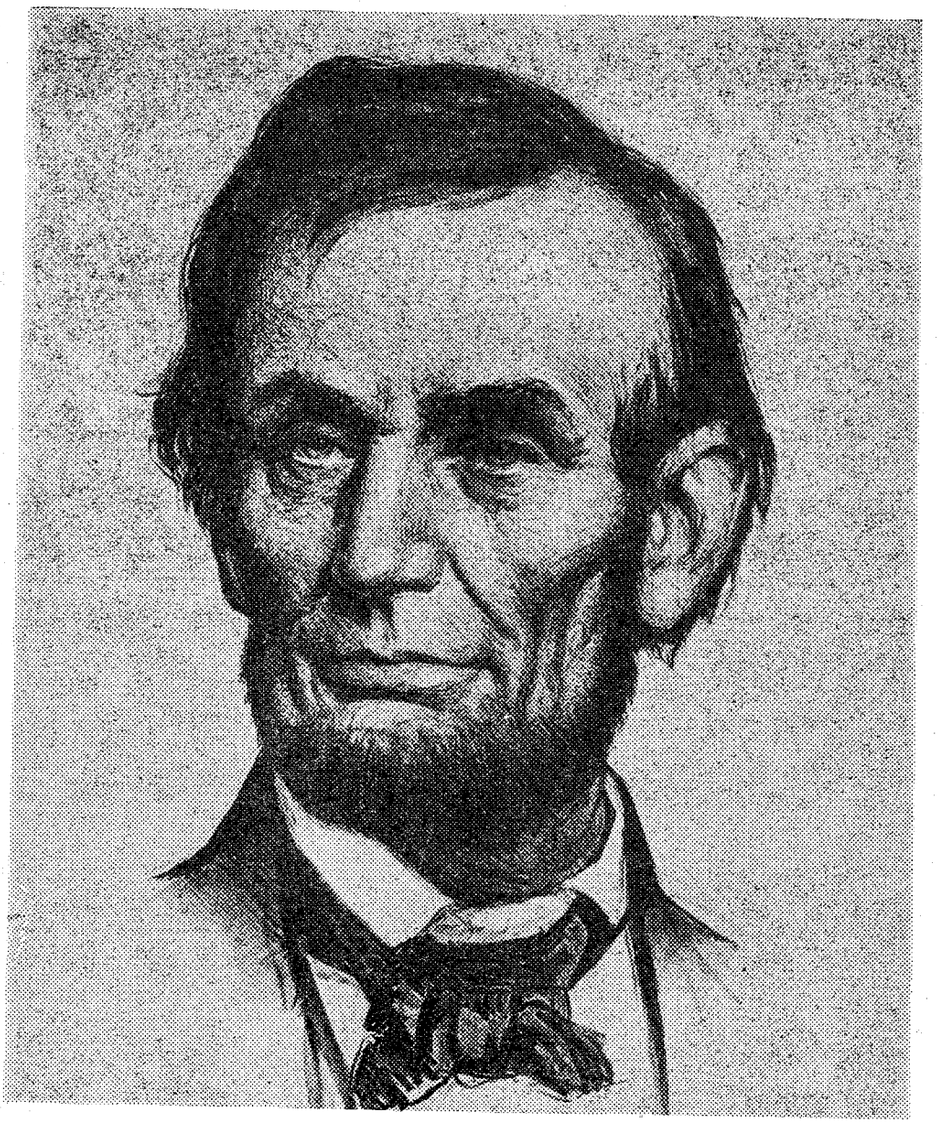
put in supreme command at the start of the war for the same reason.) When the armies of the East finally assumed the offensive in 1864 they had scarcely budged from their position of 1861. Such was the military result of the Lincoln administration's initial and partial compromise with Northern pro-slavery.

Certain historians have argued that the failures of the armies of the East in the first period of the Civil War were due to a lack of the proper military leadership. This obscures the political basis for the failures and does not correspond to fact. For there was available the proper type of military leadership; it was leading the armies of the West, especially in the persons of Ulysses S. Grant and his collaborator, William T. Sherman.

General Grant, writing after the war was over, recalled: "From an early period in the rebellion, I had been impressed with the idea that active and continuous operations of all the troops that could be brought into the field, regardless of season and weather, were necessary to a speedy termination of the war." General Sherman in 1861 declared that the war could be won only by assuming and maintaining the offensive.

Donelson in 1862 was the first fruit of this leadership. Vicksburg came next in 1863; this Northern victory separated the far Western sections of the Confederacy from the rest and rendered them virtually harmless for the duration of the war. Grant was not yet in a position to divide the Confederacy in the most decisive Eastern section, but divide it he did where he could in the West. The armies of the West, then, were pulling their own weight against the South. However, the armies of the East would have to be cleansed of McClellanism before concerted warfare would be possible.

The key to the situation lay in the hands of the win-the-war masses of the North who were led by the Radical Republicans and the Abolitionists. In 1862 their criticism of McClellan's policy of delay and their demand for abolition reached a high point in numerous delegations to the President, mass meetings throughout the North, and the passage of anti-slavery resolutions in Congress. This insistent pressure was the main factor in convincing Lincoln, who was personally opposed to slavery, that the time was ripe for issuing a preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in September 1862. Shortly after this McClellan was relieved of his command of the Army of the Potomac (previously Lincoln had removed the armies of the West from under him). In January 1863 the Emancipation Proclamation freed the slaves forever, as a "fit and necessary war measure." The crucial break had been been made with the Northern defeatists. The main political crisis of the war had been reached and passed. Abraham Lincoln had opened the road of emancipation along which the Union armies marched to ultimate victory.



Abraham Lincoln: born Feb. 12, 1809. Millions today are observing Negro History Week in honor of his life-work and that of Frederick Douglass whose birthday is also Feb. 12.

In July 1863 the two victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg marked the military turning point of the war, laying the basis for Southern defeat. Vicksburg proved that McClellan's policy was not determined by military considerations, for here Grant won a victory by pursuing the offensive with the forces at his disposal, whether perfectly prepared or no. Gettysburg proved the point even more deeply. At Gettysburg the North won a victory with the forces at hand in spite of the defensive policies inherited from McClellan. These two Northern victories further weakened the influence of Northern defeatism, and Vicksburg brought Grant to the fore nationally. The stage was now set for the achievement of that "strategic warfare" which Marx called for as the key to victory. Giving the final touch to this ensemble, Lincoln appointed Grant to the general command of the armies of the North in March 1864.

Grant in his memoirs writes that during the interview at which Lincoln invested him with full command, the President spoke of "the pressure from the people of the North and Congress [where the Radical Republicans were dominant], *which was always with him*" (Grant's emphasis) as the decisive factor in making necessary the appointment of a commander "who would take the responsibility and act." Lincoln in this interview told Grant a story which epitomizes McClellanism for all time. Grant relates the episode:

"Just after receiving my commission as lieutenant-general, the President called me aside to speak to me privately. After a brief reference to the military situation, he said he thought he could illustrate what he wanted to say by a story which he related as follows: 'At one time there was a great war among the animals, and one side had great difficulty in getting a commander who had sufficient confidence in himself. Finally they found a monkey, by the name of Jocko, who said that he thought he could command their army if his tail could be made a little longer. So they got more tail and spliced it on to his caudal appendage. He looked at it admiringly, and then

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Harper's Ferry, W. Va.

thought he ought to have a little more still. This was added, and again he called for more. The splicing process was repeated many times, until they had coiled Jocko's tail around the room, filling all the space. Still he called for more tail, and, there being no other place to coil it, they began wrapping it around his shoulders. He continued his call for more, and they kept on winding the additional tail about him until its weight broke him down.'

"I saw the point, and, rising from my chair, replied: 'Mr President, I will not call for more assistance unless I find it impossible to do with what I already have.' "

Grant kept his word and immediately tackled the problem of concerted strategy: "The Union armies were now divided into nineteen departments. . . . Before this time these various armies had acted separately and independently of each other, giving the enemy an opportunity often of depleting one command, not pressed, to reinforce another, now actively engaged. I determined to stop this. . . . My general plan now was to concentrate all the force possible against the Confederate armies in the field. There were but two such . . . east of the Mississippi and facing north. The army of Northern Virginia, Gen. Robert E. Lee commanding, was on the south bank of the Rapidan, confronting the army of the Potomac; the second, under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, was at Dalton, Georgia, opposed to Sherman, who was still at Chattanooga." (From Grant's *Memoirs*).

Grant wrote Sherman April 4, 1864, to outline the decisive campaign: "It is my desire, if the enemy keep quiet and allow me to take the initiative in the spring campaign, to work all parts of the army together, and somewhat towards a common center." On April 19 Grant wrote Sherman again to reemphasize the need for two-front warfare in the classic sense to insure victory: "What I now want more particularly to say is that if the two main attacks, yours and the one from here, should promise great success, the enemy may in a fit of desperation abandon one part of their line of defense, and throw their whole strength upon the other, believing a single defeat without any victory to sustain them better than a defeat all along their line, and hoping too, at the same time, that the army, meeting with no resistance, will rest perfectly satisfied with their laurels, having penetrated to a given point south, thereby enabling them to throw their force first upon one and then on the other.

"With the majority of military commanders they might do this.

"But you have had too much experience in traveling light, and subsisting upon the country, to be caught by any such ruse. I hope my experience has not been thrown away. My directions, then, would be, if the enemy in your front shows any signs of joining Lee, follow him up to the extent of your ability. I will prevent the concentration of Lee upon your front, if it is in the power of this army to do it."

Sherman responded to Grant, "Your two letters of April 4 are now before me, and afford me infinite satisfaction. That we are now to act on a common center looks like enlightened war." And further: ". . . I will ever bear in mind that Johnston is at all times to be kept so busy that he cannot in any event send any part of his command against you or Banks."

WHAT makes this example of two-front war all the sharper a contrast to the "anaconda" policy of McClellan is that Sherman, to carry out his part of the concerted offensive, had to incur considerable risk in the question of supplies. His main supply depot, Nashville, Tenn., was over 135 miles distant from the starting point of his campaign, Chattanooga, and both the depot and the supply lines to it were in the midst of enemy territory, subject to attack. He wrote Grant concerning this: "If Banks can at the same time carry Mobile and open up the Alabama River, he will in measure solve the most difficult part of my problem, viz., provisions. But in that I must venture . . . I will inspire my command, if successful, with the feeling that beef and salt are all that is absolutely necessary to life, and that parched corn once fed General Jackson's army on that very ground."

In a concluding chapter of his memoirs entitled "Military Lessons of the War," Sherman wrote: "Every attempt to make war easy and safe will result in humiliation and disaster." Sherman knew that "war is hell" and that the implications of this cannot be avoided if victory is to be won. At the same time "enlightened war," i.e., concerted action to speed victory, gave him "*infinite satisfaction.*"

The two-front war of the armies of the East and the West, begun in May 1864 and enabling Sherman to march through Georgia to the sea, resulted in Lee's unconditional surrender at Appomattox Court House in April 1865. This was as the Communist world leader, Marx, had foreseen in March 1862. The two-front war of victory had come about only because the people of the North and ultimately their great war leader, Abraham Lincoln, had moved vigorously to break the partial but effective grip of the defeatists upon the national administration. And the change from a "constitutional" to a revolutionary war raised Lincoln to a new pinnacle of leadership in the development of American democracy.

Those two great generals, Grant and Sherman, brave soldiers and patriots above all, would not allow any political considerations to stand between them and military victory (Grant had been a Democrat before the war). They well knew that strategic warfare demanded rapid and decisive concentration upon two fronts—so that the enemy should not be free to concentrate on either. Were they alive today they would applaud the emergence of two-front warfare, after months of indecision and confusion, as the irreversible strategy of the United Nations for the total defeat of the Axis. And they and Lincoln would applaud the new Emancipation Proclamation, the Teheran agreement, that provides the framework for achieving freedom and lasting peace for all peoples.

BOONE SCHIRMER.

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READERS' FORUM

On Free Speech

The following is an open letter to Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn from some of his former students.

DEAR DR. MEIKLEJOHN: A number of us who were former students of yours in the Experimental College at the University of Wisconsin have been following with some interest the exchange of letters in NEW MASSES between you and Earl Browder. We agree with Mr. Browder on both questions: the possibility of cooperation between Communists and non-Communists, and the question of "free speech for fascists." You yourself have helped us to arrive at our conclusions by teaching us when we were your students the proper way to look at such questions.

The Experimental College itself was an example of the cooperation of Communists and non-Communists. There were not many Communists there, but there were some—among them David Gordon, who later fought in Spain and is now in the US Army, and Arnold Reiskey, who was killed in Spain fighting in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The Communists fitted well into the whole school. For example, Gordon gave two lectures on Marxism to the entire student body, as you remember. Marxism in your school was a recognized school of thought—though you and just about all the instructors and students were not only non-Marxists, but quite definitely anti-Marxist.

However, there can be no doubt that this cooperation of Communists and non-Communists in your school, this recognition of Marxism as a definite school of thought, and of Communism as a political movement integrally part of the American scene, contributed towards the achievements of the Experimental College. We have knowledge that many of those who learned in your school how to cooperate with Communists, and learned the need for that cooperation, have continued to do so in their later life.

The position of the Communists today, as enunciated by Earl Browder in his Madison Square Garden speech on January 10, gives ample indication of *their* willingness to cooperate with all other groups, liberal or otherwise, toward the main objectives of our country and the world in general—to win the war and build a lasting democratic peace. It will be much easier now than ever before for other groups to cooperate with Communists—and it is vitally necessary that they do so, dropping all hesitations and reservations which, with all the sincerity in the world, contribute only towards disunity.

Secondly, you yourself taught us that there should be no free speech for fascists. In the first term of the Experimental College, when a free speech fight raged around Dora Russell's visit to Madison, all basic issues of free speech were well threshed out in the Experimental College, with yourself greatly helping. You then said (these are almost your exact words): "Free speech is not license. Free speech does not mean freedom to advocate murder, spread obscenity, or organize burglary." You taught us that free speech, like all other freedoms in society, does not mean freedom for anyone to deprive others of their rights. You said it was perfectly proper for the police, if they heard of a group of robbers holding a meeting to plan a burglary, to interrupt that gathering and arrest the participants—and that the burglars could not justly claim their "freedom of speech" was abridged.

And what does "freedom of speech for fascists" mean, but their fraudulent claim to the protection of the law in order to destroy all law but that of their violence? What are fascists but murderers, rapists, arsonists, thieves, destroyers of freedom, peace, and security? They have proved it all over the world. They have proved it in America, in Los Angeles, Beaumont, Detroit, Boston, and now are again proving it in New York, where they incite teen-age children to assaults, desecration of synagogues and churches, and every manner of divisive crime.

The position you are taking now has us somewhat puzzled as we consider the position you used to take. You used to be for cooperation with all progressive forces and against fascists. This was when fascism was still a minor world menace—back in the 1920's. Now when we see what fascism is like and what it is capable of doing, you seem to have retreated. We cannot understand whether you are moving backward or standing still. With the world moving toward greater and greater unity against fascism, standing still is in essence going backward. We know of many other former Experimental College students now in our country's armed forces who hold the same position as we do.

CARROLL W. BLAIR, NATHAN BERMAN
SOL KOBRIN.

Chicago and Milwaukee.

Taro Yashima's Drawings

TO NEW MASSES: A review of Taro Yashima's *The New Sun* in a recent NEW MASSES, states that Yashima's drawings are "rough sketches and caricatures" and that "the book is a primer of slight impact whose every page makes the reader regret that Mr. Yashima has not drawn and related his story in greater detail."

As an artist, I may state with authority that the drawings are not rough sketches and caricatures—they are finished drawings of great power; and as a reader, that I found the book an autobiography of terrific impact, whose every page made me rejoice that Mr. Yashima had not added one more line or word.

"Unfortunately," wrote the reviewer, "text and pictures are too elementary. Although they reveal the general pattern of fascism, they omit the national attributes that would characterize the Japanese people and the brand of fascism with which they have to contend." This reader does find the text and pictures to be elementary—as elementary as the passions, love and hate, that they express; and he finds it quite true that the book is not a comprehensive study of the life and manners of the Japanese people, or of the particular factors in their life and manners which, in conjunction with other factors, have given Japanese fascism its peculiar character; nor do I find in it such figures as to population and natural resources as, in conjunction with modern industrialization, are at the root of Japanese imperialism. In fact, it must be frankly admitted that the reader who wants to come to an understanding of Japan today will have to read more than this one book.

But whatever he reads—on fascism in Japan, in Germany, in Italy, or in America, or on life in general, or on people—let him, if he wants to be deeply stirred, read *The New Sun*. If I were to choose one book to put into the hands of every man, woman, and child on the Pacific coast, and all over America for that matter, I think I would choose *The New Sun*. They would read it. They would understand it. They would be deeply moved by it.

ROCKWELL KENT.

Ausable Forks, N. Y.

"Dr. Win the War"

TO NEW MASSES: In your January 11 issue, you give unqualified endorsement to Roosevelt's defense of the New Deal, in your editorial "Dr. Win the War."

In the January 8 issue of the *Nation*, I. F. Stone says the President forgot to mention the *Wagner Act* among the achievements of the New Deal.

May I ask: (1) Is Stone correct? (2) If so, don't you consider the omission worth noting? (3) If you consider it worth noting, did you miss it by accident, or on purpose?

I don't expect you to print this letter, but I will appreciate a reply. In extenuation, I may say I like the NM a hell of a lot better than I expected when I fell for your sub-chaser.

HENRY WILLCOX.

New York.

1. Yes.

2. No. We didn't notice the omission. Neither did most of the press. The President read from a prepared list of New Deal achievements. The omission was therefore probably the fault of whoever prepared the list. And, according to the New York *Times* story, "The President concluded by saying that he had probably left out half of the New Deal measures." Mr. Stone's attempt to read some baleful meaning into the failure to mention the Wagner Act serves no purpose other than to create suspicion of the President, a task which the reactionaries and defeatists in both parties are able to perform quite well by themselves without any assistance from progressives. Incidentally, Mr. Stone's attitude toward the President has changed a half dozen times within the past few months and it is never certain where he stands.

—The Editors.

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DREAM COME TRUE— "AND TEHERAN"

By Earl Browder

The following speech was delivered at the Art Young Memorial meeting in Manhattan Center, January 27.

IT IS a privilege to add my own word of appreciation to those of the distinguished list of speakers who pay tribute here to the great artist, Art Young.

As I came down tonight, I tried to recall when it was that I first heard Art Young's name and saw his work. I could not remember, for I felt as though Art Young had always been with us. I cannot recall a time when his pictures were not a part of my consciousness. But it seems to me that the first place I saw his drawings was in an old magazine published in Kansas about forty years ago—an old-time socialist magazine called the *Coming Nation*. Perhaps some of the older men among the friends of Art Young could tell me whether my memory is correct or not.

Anyway, you and millions of others have had beyond doubt the same reaction as I to his pictures, whether in that old magazine or in some one of the other periodicals of the long ago past as well as the present of our country. The feeling one has about him is that just as far back as you can remember, he was drawing those pictures that made the heart feel warm and stirred the mind to be a little more alert, and strengthened the will to do something worthy of an ideal.

Through all these years Art was always ahead, always had something to add to our appreciation of the current scene—something that made our understanding deeper and our hearts warmer. That is the contribution of a great artist.

His pen was so strong that it forced recognition from those who rejected the message of his art; so that when he died even the great organs which represent that smug respectability against which Art Young's work was always directed had to pay tribute to the departed artist. And that is as it should be.

WE MUST always be glad when we see the power of such pens as that of Art Young force a tribute from those who resisted his message over the years, because such tributes show that the artist's message was one for the millions, for the masses. Art Young was never a sectarian, never one who gloried in being separated from the great majority of the people. True, the great commercial newspapers and magazines, while recognizing his greatness, would say "Now, but that is not for us," and generally could not use his work because the artist would not distort to their purposes. But even though during most of the years of his life his work could find publication only in journals of limited circulation, Art Young always directed his message to the great majority of the people. And the power of it caused it very largely to break through to the people.

I think that is one of the reasons why his work was always young not only in name but in fact. The last words that Art sent out to his friends for New Year's Day, words that he added to the New Year's card he prepared—the words "And Teheran"—show how keenly this great artist followed the developments of the world, how deeply he understood that a great event had come into the affairs of mankind—something that summed up the cause of the people which he had stood for and had been fighting for all his life. In his last conversations before he died Art Young's thought was dominated by his interest in the agreement at Teheran which promised long-time collaboration of Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union in war and in peace. It was typical of Art Young's kind of greatness—the greatness that is close to the people—that he was able to see in a practical political program, presented to the world by the representatives of the three strongest powers in the world, the instrument for realization of his dream of democracy. He saw that it brings the aspirations of generations down to earth in terms for a practical realization in victory of the cause in which the organized powers of the earth are now enlisted, and in which it is the people's business to see that they remain enlisted until that program is accomplished.

Art Young understood this. He was a great dreamer because his dreams were always connected with practice. In the last word that he added to that little picture that conveyed the 1944 version of his perennial New Year's greetings in which each year he always held out hope and fighting spirit and enthusiasm—on that last card he summed up with the word "Teheran" the whole fighting program of his life. At the moment when his long life ended he spoke up to say he joined us in that task which we still have to complete.

Art Young's drawings will remain fresh throughout the years. He is one of the immortals. His spirit is marching with us today to the realization of the program of Teheran.

I think that that is the highest tribute we can pay to the memory of our great artist, to the memory that will remain green and flourish not only in our generation but in the generations to come.

Figure sketches with a fountain pen by Art Young.

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LOOKING AT SCIENCE

By WILLIAM RUDD

In 1943 science served the war well both directly and indirectly, at the front and in the rear and with full theoretical equipment and practical tools. It produced new and better weapons, new and better foods and drugs, and new and better ways of living. Let us summarize the highlights.

We wish we could sing the praises of the American rocket bazooka and the Russian rocket guns from personal acquaintance. They are what might be called "well-known secrets." In contrast, some of the German secret weapons are so well unknown that they might be quite non-existent. On the whole, however, we have been fairly successful in secretiveness with regard to our bombsights and "radar," which is a set of devices for the guidance of planes and the detection of objects by electric waves. Without knowing the details we might take satisfaction in knowing that M3 is a new Army submachine gun which can be produced with only the simplest machine tools, that Navy ships are using "pancake" diesel engines which occupy one-third of the space of previous engines while producing four times the power per pound of engine weight, and that research has produced glider torpedoes launchable from planes which can travel at set angles and speeds, amphibian pontoon bridges which roll on their own wheels, hand grenades which are set off by the act of throwing, wide-angle periscopes for tanks, automatic computing sights for aerial gunners, electronic autopilots which steer a heavy bomber relentlessly toward its target, and numerous devices which conserve life in the heat of battle. Of these we shall hear more as the need for secrecy passes away.

When the weapons shall be beaten into plowshares we can expect some other of the triumphs of armament of 1943 to become great conveniences. In this class we can put the new devices for the night landing of planes, the caterpillar landing gear which enables landing on rough, sandy, or soft ground found in desert fighting, a "flight ray" device which reads flight instruments and warns the pilot, airplane anti-icers which heat the wings and other surfaces and are of such great use to long-range bombers, auxiliary rocket motors to help lift overloaded planes (for Berlin), wire cutters which might pass from a war-like career on entanglements to peaceful use by electricians, and even mere methods of procedure necessitated by war haste, like the changing of tires on huge planes in less than one hour as against twenty-four hours.

War's first obligation to the wounded accentuates medical advance. In the broad sense this should include diet and preventive measures, because next to the wounded come the ill and the tired. The greatest stir was made by the development of "magic" penicillin which scores successes where even the "wonder-drugs" of the sulfanilamide type fail. This excretion product of a mold has won over gonorrhea, syphilis, boils, abscesses, infected burns, and a whole group of "blood poisonings," gas gangrene, meningitis, osteomyelitis (a bone disease) and pneumococcus pneumonia.

New sulfa drugs have appeared aplenty. Sulfadiazine has played quite a heroic role in the widespread influenza we have just had. Phthalysulfathiazole is recommended for dysentery and similar intestinal disorders. Sulfamerazine is used for meningitis, gonorrhea and pneumonia. Sulfathiazole has cured trench mouth, desoxyephedronium sulfathiazole has even pretensions of controlling the common cold—a subject on which the best hopes have been shattered. Thus, patulin, derived from penicillin, received credit for cold curing which was recently withdrawn or put in doubt. Penicillin has effective companions, e.g., penatin and penicillin B, which are more potent. So far as mice are concerned influenza may be controlled by inhalations either of the chemical triethylene glycol or of the globulin fraction of influenza immune horse serum.

Wound healing has been accelerated by special sera developed preeminently by Russian scientists. They too have led in the development of blood plasma banks and blood substitutes. They created nerve banks and several techniques of grafting. Their curious use of a special egg-nog in the intestines of patients under abdominal operations has lessened surgical shock materially. Anti-malarials are an American specialty. It is known that quinine has been outdone by several new drugs which are on trial. In the USA a new sulfur-containing sex hormone has been produced from the natural hormone, which shows wound-healing properties.

A drug, diasone, has been announced as a potential cure for human tuberculosis, because it works well with guinea pigs. A promising vaccine for the same purpose is also in the offing. It looks as if some real progress is about to be made in the use of vaccines against certain types of sleeping sickness. Morphine substitutes without addiction properties have been produced successfully. They are known for short as M3, M4, and M7, and turn out to be relatives of the female sex hormones. A cure for seasickness is hidden in the secret of the "pink pills" of the Royal Canadian Navy. Prostigmine has been shown to accelerate recovery from infantile paralysis by relief of spasms. If, besides penicillin and the wound healers, 1943 has turned up genuine keys to the impregnable diseases, malaria, sleeping sickness and tuberculosis, it will be an unforgettable year in the history of medicine.

Intense examination of inadequate diets led to the discovery of a new B vitamin which cures a certain type of anemia, akin to that which causes the "interesting pallor" of young ladies. Watch for the name "folic acid." It is a protector against the destruction of white blood cells (agranulocytosis) that may be brought on by the use of sulfa drugs. It resembles biotin, which is a member of the B group necessary for growth, respiration, skin health, and resistance to malaria (in chicks). Biotin has been synthesized, the synthesis being a war secret. The famous thiamin or vitamin B1 was found to be manufactured by intestinal bacteria, so that possibly we might learn to carry our own factory along with us.

Flour enrichment with niacin and thiamin has already favorably affected the statistics of the incidence of the hunger diseases, beriberi, and pelagra. Carrots were found good for high altitude living. The Russians have been brewing a good scurvy-preventive tea containing vitamin C from pine-needles. Numerous war diets have been proposed, including a return to pemican, a mixture of dried meat and fat, used by Indians and explorers for weeks on end in the most trying situations.

The production of desiccated foods has been improved tremendously on account of the need of compact transportation. The utilization of wastes for the extraction of foods has become unprecedented. It has been estimated that thousands of tons of protein can be recovered from wheat used to make alcohol, from corn germ from which the fat has been removed, chemically treated grass, or distillery residues. The wastes also yield large amounts of vitamins (riboflavin and thiamin) when treated with absorbing resins. The manufacturers are learning quickly how to preserve vitamins in the dehydration of food, especially vitamin C.

ENGINEERING, GEOLOGY, TECHNOLOGIES

Advances in aeronautics, no doubt, must lead all the rest. There are the seventy-ton Martin *Mars* which is the world's largest flying boat, the super-bomber B29,

(*Continued on page 26*)

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Willkie's Afterthought

WENDELL WILLKIE'S speech in New York the other night will not easily slide down the gullets of those cagey politicos who constitute the Republican high command. Mr. Willkie began by reiterating his well-known ideas concerning America's role in world affairs. He then devoted the major part of his address to a discussion of fiscal policy for both the war and postwar periods. On this question too Mr. Willkie developed ideas which are not likely to enhance his popularity with the Spanglers, Hoovers, and Tafts. However, his presentation of these ideas, with its anti-administration emphasis, is designed to conciliate those dominant GOP forces whose major objective is to frustrate the fulfillment in the war and the peace of the Teheran program.

Mr. Willkie criticized the $2,315,800,000 Senate-House tax bill as totally inadequate. He is right. But the criticism is rather belated. One cannot help noting the fact that for months, while the House Ways and Means and the Senate Finance Committees were holding hearings, Mr. Willkie chose to keep silent. In his St. Louis speech last October he did discuss taxes—in the postwar period.

And Mr. Willkie doesn't like the administration tax program, either. Instead of $8,000,000,000 in new revenue that the Treasury requested (this figure excludes some $2,700,000,000 to be refunded after the war), he thinks we ought to raise twice as much. Mr. Willkie is most eager to show himself a lion and the administration a mouse in this matter of taxes. He has omitted to mention that the sum he proposes is pretty much what President Roosevelt proposed *thirteen months earlier*. It was in his budget message on Jan. 11, 1943, that the President called for $16,000,000,000 in additional funds. Where was Mr. Willkie then? And where was he when Mr. Roosevelt on July 31 repeated his demand?

What happened was that the Treasury, faced with the unyielding opposition of most of Mr. Willkie's party colleagues in Congress, as well as of the tory Democrats, whittled down the President's original program to $10,600,000,000. The bi-partisan cabal has now reduced this to a shadow. But according to Mr. Willkie, it is the administration that is the villain of the piece. He conveniently forgets that in October, immediately after the National Association of Manufacturers came out against any new taxes, the Republican members of the House Ways and Means Committee and the Republican leaders in the Senate did likewise. And as between half a loaf and none, Mr. Willkie boldly insists on the whole loaf.

Mr. Willkie has also not thought it necessary to specify just what groups are to bear the greatly increased taxes he suggests. He knows or ought to know that if his own dictum that the "limit [of taxation] is reached only when the war effort itself is threatened," then that limit has already been reached for the millions earning less than $3,000 a year.

As for Mr. Willkie's tax proposals for the postwar period, his concessions to the GOP diehards are, if anything, even more substantial. He wants all corporate taxes drastically lowered and some entirely eliminated, as well as taxes on individuals cut. At the same time he expects the budget to be a minimum of $20,000,000,000 a year. Since he looks forward to a national income of only $120,000,000,000— or only $50,000,000,000 more than in 1939 when the budget was $9,000,000,000— his postwar proposals seem to belong in the realm of fiscal legerdemain. But evidently they are considered good election copy.

"Farley First" Parley

BACK in 1935-36 an attempt was made to stop That Man by banding together the "Jeffersonian Democrats" behind Wintergreen for President. One of the leading "Jeffersonian Democrats" of that time was William Randolph Hearst. Another was Gov-

Rankin Is Their Leader

AS THIS is written, the outcome of the Senate debate on the Green-Lucas soldiers' vote bill is still in doubt. The defeat of Senator Taft's crippling and dishonest amendment keeps the issue alive despite House approval of the Senate's original "fraud" outlawing a federal ballot and substituting the meaningless (worse than meaningless, since it is an out-and-out fake) Eastland-Rankin bill. Most ominous in the House debate was the eagerness of the Republicans to accept leadership from the fascist-minded, anti-Semitic John E. Rankin of Mississippi.

The issue has nothing to do with "states' rights." And these days, the appeal to "constitutionality," as made by the Tafts and Bilbos, the Hoffmans and Rankins, is the last refuge of the most venal reactionaries. Senator Taft is an old hand at this sort of double-talk, and that great statesman, "Cotton Ed" Smith, who chews a mean cud of tobacco, has become the shining knight of the Constitution which his every action and opinion deride. When the clown Rankin—Hitler was the same kind of clown—orates about the wishes of the Founding Fathers—and the Republicans applaud his smutty wisecracks —something has gone haywire. The fact is, the Rankin poll-taxers and their "Republicrat" followers are engaged in an out-and-out swindle—they want an election excluding 11,000,000 citizens who happen to be in uniform. But most significant is the fact that the southern Democrats have split and Rankin has not been able to carry the majority with him.

WHATEVER final action the Senate takes (as we go to press, the chances of passing a federal ballot have improved with the defeat of Taft's slick maneuver) the soldiers' vote bill must go to joint House-Senate conference, and then once again be submitted to a vote by both houses. If the Eastland-Rankin "fraud" is slipped through in the end, the President will undoubtedly veto it and force Congress to reopen the debate. All of this adds up to one imperative: Write to your senators and your representative *now* and get your friends, your church and fraternal groups, your community organizations, your unions to write and wire in support of the Green-Lucas-Worley bill. Keep on writing and wiring until Congress passes responsible legislation granting the vote to soldiers with no strings attached.

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ernor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia. Most of the others could be found in the American Liberty League. Being unable to locate Wintergreen, the "Jeffersonian Democrats" joined with the Joe Pew Republicans in inventing Landon, for whom they carried all but forty-six states.

That success seems to have inspired the bourbon Democrats to try again in 1944. Quicker than one can say Jim Farley they got together a luncheon meeting at the Chicago Executives Club last week where, before an audience described as "predominantly Republican," but also alleged to include anti-New Deal Democrats from twenty states, the new "movement" was launched. It is called the "American Democratic Committee" and it plans to call a rump convention to nominate its own candidate for President. Leader of this self-chosen committee is Harry H. Woodring, former Secretary of War.

The tactics are a bit subtler this time, though not much. Instead of signing his group's death warrant by a frontal assault on the President, Woodring in his keynote speech praised both the foreign policy and the social gains of the Roosevelt administration. Not FDR is the enemy, but the "Palace Guard," who are plotting "a post-war Hopkinsized worldwide WPA" and who today have established "a tyranny just as vicious, just as deadly . . . as was ever suffered by the colonists." And to show how much he really loved the President, Woodring proceeded to nominate him for chairman of the American delegation to the peace conference. There was only one condition attached to this job: that Mr. Roosevelt be replaced in the White House. He thought Secretary Hull was the man to replace him, though others present were partial to Senator Byrd or Farley.

If Harry Woodring today supports the President's foreign policy, that is news indeed. And if he today considers the Cordell Hull who negotiated the historic Moscow declarations his ideal Presidential candidate, that too is news. It will be recalled that Woodring found it necessary to resign as Secretary of War because he disagreed on foreign affairs—in those days he was a diehard isolationist. But all this is probably less devious than it seems. Mr. Farley has been doing a lot of traveling lately, and it hasn't all been in the interest of the wider dissemination of coca-cola.

Dewey in Hoovertalk

GOVERNOR Dewey's budgetary proposals afford rich insight into the mind of this potential presidential candidate. What he proposes to do with the state's moneys gives him away, despite his hitherto guarded political double-talk. The key to his thinking, as the New York *Herald Tribune* indicated, is "economy and the continued accumulation of surpluses." Ignoring the glaring social and economic hardships of the people today, he is busily hoarding huge "postwar" surpluses ($148,000,000 is the calculated amount, by March 31); he evidently envisages a postwar economy of scarcity, a perspective of joblessness, economic decline, misery. No pro-Teheran outlook for him: he sees eye to eye with his political mentor—Herbert Hoover.

Governor Dewey plans to spend $371,809,013 this coming fiscal year; this represents a cut of about five million dollars from this year's estimated expenditures. This in turn represents additional slashes in provisions for popular welfare; every important aspect of social welfare will suffer: education, teachers' pay, the rehabilitation of returning veterans, child care, aid to various communities.

Take education, for instance: our school system, every authority—and every intelligent parent—will tell you, is in worse shape than ever, due to wartime stress. Classes are dangerously jammed: academic high schools are sixty-three percent overcrowded; vocational high schools, 63.4 percent; junior high schools, seventy-one percent; elementary schools, 42.7 percent. Juvenile delinquency, nobody need be told, is on the rise. The rising cost of living has forced teachers to leave the classroom for outside jobs. Yet Dewey continues to operate on a discredited formula—the archaic Friedsam formula, in estimating state needs for education: he has ignored the painstaking testimony of educational authorities, parent-teacher bodies, in arriving at his tragically low figures.

Furthermore, Dewey gives the cold shoulder to that vital issue, child care, with its great bearing upon war production. Employes of state institutions and state civil service employes will get no satisfaction from Dewey's budget; and their plight is already scandalous. Thus it goes right down the line.

But, it must be mentioned, Dewey solicitously proposed laying aside $15,000,000 as a reserve for funds to big business whose profits may be diminished by future renegotiation of war contracts. In all, a shameful showing; a patent attempt to win national support of the most reactionary GOP elements for his presidential aspirations. "This is what you can expect of me," he is saying to the Lammot du Pont crowd. But he is reckoning without his host; New Yorkers, judging from the reaction to his proposals, understand his double-talk. Their spokesmen will have a lot to say at the budgetary public hearings in Albany.

A Catholic in America who would not give all aid to Russia is not true to his faith. I get impatient with Catholics who still look askance at our Russian brothers. Instead we should take an example from them. We should fight by their side against our common enemy. This war can only be won by teamwork and by all team members having perfect confidence in one another and with each willing to help the other to the utmost. That is how I feel about our great Russian team-mate.

The late Cardinal Hinsley
Archbishop of Westminster
(died Mar. 17, 1943).
From "The Witness."

Rankin Won't Like This

WHEN that nasty little poll-taxer, John E. Rankin, dared to refer to Walter Winchell on the floor of the House of Representatives as "the little kike I was telling you about the other day," the Republican gang roared with laughter. Rankin was fed questions by the anti-Semitic Clare Hoffman, the man who recently called for a forcible overthrow of the American government—and went unrebuked by his colleagues. Not one of the crowd whooping it up in Congress against the soldiers' vote bill, objected to these two spouting unadulterated Hitlerism.

Anti-Semitism is part and parcel of fascism. There is no need pressing the point at this late date. Fascism is losing the military decision in Europe and Asia. Its last hope is to corrode the morale of victorious democracy, to salvage fascism by transplanting the disease germs of anti-Semitism from defeated Germany to fresh organisms elsewhere. The Rankins and Hoffmans are the go-betweens, the carriers. Yet by their vile frankness they make the danger clear.

The special board of cabinet members appointed by President Roosevelt to help rescue Jewish victims from Hitler murder is an important measure to combat the menace. Other valued organizations already function in this country to fight anti-Semitism. But of most significance is the formation of the National Committee Against Nazi Persecution and Extermination of Jews headed by Associate Justice Frank Murphy. The Committee provides a nucleus around which all groups can unite in a powerful movement to meet the ugly challenge of anti-Semitism. The committee, of which Wendell Willkie is vice-chairman, includes Catholic and Protestant leaders, spokesmen of both major parties, and the president of the US Chamber of Commerce. We trust that representatives of the labor movement will also be added.

Justice Murphy, by refusing to allow his position on the Supreme Court to remove him from the pressing national struggle,

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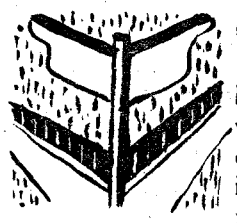
along with Wendell Willkie and the other initiators of the Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism, deserve the profound appreciation of the nation. They also merit vigorous and unstinting support in building *national unity against anti-Semitism*, against all those who threaten victory in the war and the Teheran peace to follow.

Vatican Policy



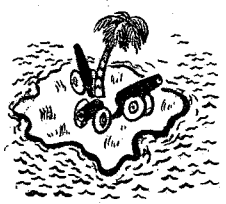
THROUGHOUT the world the Catholic masses are joined with their brothers of other religious faiths in the war against fascism. In many countries where the vast majority of the population is Catholic it is almost solely persons of this religious persuasion who constitute the labor movement, the democratic political organizations, the armies hurling themselves against Hitler and Hirohito. The French masses whose vast underground is sapping the blood of the Nazis are strongly Catholic. The democratic forces of Italy which constitute the six-party coalition are made up of thousands of Catholics. Poland, where the guerrillas and patriots are contributing to the extermination of the invader, is a Catholic country. Latin America as a whole, with its militant labor movement and many progressive governments, is virtually a Catholic continent. Across the Pacific, in the heart of enemy occupied territory, the Filipinos, a Catholic people, struggle for their independence in alliance with the United Nations, and in our own country millions of young Catholic men are in the armed forces and millions more man the factories.

It is therefore self-evident that the Catholic religion is not inconsistent with anti-fascism, but a religion whose believers contribute mightily to the enemy's defeat. Members of the Catholic hierarchy throughout the world have associated themselves on the side of the people and therefore firmly in support of the cause of the United Nations. The article by Marion Bachrach in our last issue gave evidence of this fact so far as Latin America is concerned. The position of many leading members of the Church in this country, Canada, and Great Britain is similarly strongly anti-fascist. The quarrel with the role of certain elements in the Catholic Church is therefore neither a quarrel with Catholicism as a religion nor with the large number of Catholic leaders who are doing everything possible to support the battle for freedom. We and all other anti-fascists are opposed only to those who use the cloak of Catholicism to compromise the principle of unconditional surrender or deliberately to advance the evil cause of fascism.

It is in this light that we view the recent attack upon the temporal activities of the Vatican carried by the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia*. The *Izvestia* article was, in good part, simply a commentary upon an analysis of the Vatican's political role which had been issued in this country by the Foreign Policy Association. Regarding the political work of the Pope, it raised questions and reached conclusions which are widely shared among all fighters for unconditional victory over the Axis. The political record of the Vatican has been one of appeasement of fascism and in many instances of outright support of fascist regimes. Coupled with this has been a violent hatred of Communism, under which term there have often been included other democratic movements as well. These are errors for which the Vatican alone is not to blame; they were shared by leaders in the United States, Great Britain, and other nations which have now learned the lessons of past mistakes. The disturbing question is whether the Vatican too has learned the lesson. There is to date no evidence that it has. Franco is still strongly supported and the Vatican never broke with Mussolini or his fascist henchmen. Indeed, as late as June 13, 1943, the Pope warned the Italian people against an anti-fascist uprising.

There remains, then, a sharp difference between the temporal activities of the Vatican and the valiant anti-fascist struggle of the Catholic masses throughout the world. It would be in the clear interest of the Church itself if the Vatican reflected rather than obstructed the needs and interests of the masses which it seeks to lead. To do this requires a drastic change from the present policies which in effect work for a compromise with fascism.

United Fruit Cargo?



ONE of our strongly democratic allies in Latin America and a member of the United Nations, Costa Rica, is under the imminent danger of a fascist revolt. On February 13 presidential elections will be held to select a successor to Rafael Calderon Guardia, whose liberal policies have the united support of workers, peasants, and all anti-fascists. The progressive coalition has the support of the Archbishop of Costa Rica, who, along with many other Catholic leaders in Latin America, has thrown his influence squarely behind the cause of democracy. The National Republican and Popular Vanguard parties, representing the liberal coalition, have put Teodoro Picado forward as successor to Calderon Guardia. Reactionaries and fascists are supporting Cortes Castro, whose record as President of Costa Rica from 1936 to 1940 and whose present associations mark him as a dictator with strong pro-fascist leanings.

It is a foregone conclusion that the democratic candidate, Teodoro Picado, will win the popular election by a wide margin. The pro-fascist supporters of his rival are characteristically plotting a coup reminiscent of those carried out in Argentina and Bolivia. Lombardo Toledano, president of the Confederation of Latin American Workers, in a letter to Pres. Avila Camacho of Mexico, reports: "Costa Rican labor informs me that clandestine arms shipments are en route to Costa Rica, destined for groups plotting a rising against the government of President Calderon Guardia. A ship sailed recently from Mexico to Guatemala with arms bought and transported with the complicity of a North American company which is a heavy investor in Central America and has been aiding the fascist-backed candidate." The ship has been identified by the Costa Rican ambassador to Mexico as the *El Delfin* and steps are being taken to intercept it. Other reports indicate that arms have already reached Costa Rica in other ships and that a cache has been established on the estate of Cortes Castro.

Although he does not name it, there is no mystery about the identity of the North American company to which Lombardo refers. The United Fruit Company is the dominant commercial interest in these small Central American states and has pursued a notoriously anti-labor policy. While it need not be directly accused of wanting an Axis victory, its clearly anti-democratic labor

Touche

"If Russia wants to serve notice that she proposes to occupy a preponderant place in the peace councils comparable with her preponderant place in the fighting, we do not think the way to do it is to announce that henceforth Russia is to be regarded as sixteen nations with, presumably, sixteen votes to our one."—Editorial in New York Post, February 3.

"It is a kind of crude, Tammanyish approach to say that the Soviet state has split itself into sixteen republics, independent as to foreign policy and military management, for the sake of securing sixteen votes at the peace table. That is a ward-heeler's analysis, and it displays the ward-heeler's special qualities of intense shrewdness and intense blindness."—Samuel Grafton, New York Post, February 7.

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policies effectively promote the work of the Axis by putting it on the side of political reactionaries.

Permitting the alleged complicity of the United Fruit Company to continue would be a clear case of intervention in the domestic affair of a Good Neighbor. Stopping those activities and aiding the government of Costa Rica to protect itself against a fascist uprising with arms supplied from the outside is a job which can and should be undertaken by the United States acting in concert with Mexico, Costa Rica itself, and other pro-United Nations countries.

Clapper Dies in Action

RAYMOND CLAPPER was the sixteenth American newspaperman killed in action since Pearl Harbor. He was killed in a plane crash while "engaged in covering the Marshalls invasion," the brief Navy announcement said. In a letter to his widow, Olive Ewing Clapper, President Roosevelt said his death "emphasizes once more the constant peril in which correspondents do their work in this war," and said his being there "in the thick of the fight" was characteristic of his desire to get first-hand facts. Throughout the war Clapper no sooner got back from one long air trip before he planned another. He had been to Cairo, India, China, Australia and New Guinea, North Africa, the Mediterranean, Europe.

Politically Clapper was unpredictable, but he was unpredictable to his boss, Roy Howard, too. By and large through recent years he has been pro-New Deal. Unpretentious, his inflection and accent still redolent of Kansas, where he was brought up, Clapper was well liked. His fellow newsmen voted his column most fair and reliable in a poll taken a few years ago. A recent *Saturday Evening Post* sketch of him speaks forgivingly of "his conversion from an isolationist to an interventionist" long before Pearl Harbor. There is no doubt that Clapper thrived in a win-the-war atmosphere and found it with the armed forces in action when it was less apparent so close to Congress. One of his last dispatches, dated February 2, quoted "what some of the men around this fighter base (within twenty minutes of the Japs) think the war is all about." He quoted Sgt. Samuel Brown of Philadelphia as saying "There's been too much isolationism already," refuting what higher-ups had told Clapper—that the men were "isolationist"—and quoted Sgt. Samuel Halpern of Brooklyn as saying: "Is there any other candidate but Roosevelt?" Walter Keily of Minneapolis, and John W. Cook of Pascagoula, Miss., said Japan could be licked in six months after Germany was beaten. Again, not what the higher-ups had said. "Well, that's the way they talk up at the fighter front here," Clapper wound up.

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

A WEEK OF VICTORIES

THE week ending last Sunday brought the cause of the United Nations two resounding victories: our great combined fleet—which has far outgrown the name of "task force"—broke into post-Versailles Japanese territory in the Marshalls and secured for us the important air and naval base of Kwajalein. Meanwhile on the Eastern Front the Red Army reached the Narova River in the north, drew a noose around the German group in the Luga sector, and encircled what is left of nine German infantry and one tank division around the historic eleventh century Ukrainian town of Korsun. Following in the footsteps of General Brussilov (1916), the Soviet forces broke through the German front south of the Pripet Marshes to a depth of forty-five miles to capture the towns of Lutsk and Rovno. It was here on the banks of the Ikva and Styr, that General Brussilov in World War I effected his famous "Lutsk breakthrough" which saved the Allied front in Italy. *History might repeat itself in full today.* All this was topped on Sunday by the announcement that the army groups of Generals Malinovsky and Tolbukhin (the Third and Fourth Ukrainian Fronts) had broken through the German lines to a great depth between Krivoi Rog and Nikopol, had captured the key-junction of Apostolovo and completely encircled another five German divisions. Such is the very rough outline of the great United Nations victories won during the first week of February, 1944.

THE "divine power" of the Japanese Emperor, Hirohito Tenno, has been rudely suspended by Admiral Nimitz in the Marshalls. The suspension may be quite permanent. On or about January 30 a great United States fleet, with battleships, an "unprecedented" concentration of aircraft carriers, with cruisers, destroyers, troop transports, etc., sailed calmly into the hornet's nest of the Marshall Islands and, having blanketed most of the ten-odd Japanese air bases clustering around Kwajalein Atoll with carrier-based air-power, proceeded to attack the big atoll. After a mighty bombardment by planes and ships two divisions were landed. An infantry division attacked the Kwajalein naval base at the southern tip of the atoll, while a Marine division attacked Roi, which is a big air base at the northern tip.

The operation was obviously excellently prepared, the lessons of Tarawa having been assimilated. At Kwajalein we killed 1,250 Japanese, losing twenty-seven men ourselves. We wonder what Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin of the New York *Times* will say. He shrugged a skeptical shoulder at Soviet announcements of over-all 3:2 losses in favor of the Red Army; now he is faced with a ratio of 48:1 in favor of the US armed forces. We wonder—not at the losses, but at Mr. Baldwin's new predicament.

IT IS most important to note that we invaded territory which had been mandated to Japan after the first World War. The enemy has had two decades or more to fortify it. It was de facto Japanese territory which we tread for the first time. Our Navy sailed calmly into the Marshalls, confident that its carrier-based aircraft could well cope with Japanese land-based craft. The result was most gratifying: so far it seems that we have had no naval losses. At Kwajalein we are facing squarely the enemy base-line stretching from Wake to Truk. Beyond that line there is only the solitary speck of Marcus Island and then—Tokio. (Of course, the Marianas, Uracas, Volcano and Bonin Islands flank that line at a respectful distance from the southwest.) Our capture of Kwajalein and the probable quick capture or "starving" of the rest of the Marshalls permits us to create two pairs of pincers, aimed at Truk and at Wake. These pincers would look this way: Wake can be threatened from Midway, 1,185 miles away, and from Kwajalein, 1,050 miles away, and from our positions in New Britain, about 1,000 miles away.

It is supposed that the Japanese naval concentrations are somewhere in the triangle Rabaul-Truk-Kwajalein. So far the Japanese navy continues to be coy. However, it is expected eventually to come out and fight for Truk. As to our own immediate strategy, it would be plausible to expect a stab at Wake, the capture of which would crack the Japanese center completely, reducing the arc of Japanese domination in the Pacific to the line Tokio-Bonin-Mari-

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Underground

A FEW copies of a most interesting underground paper recently reached London. It is called *Soldat im Westen* (Soldier in the West) and is published by anti-Nazis in Hitler's army of occupation in western Europe. Issue number seventeen of this paper was published in November, 1942, while issue number thirty appeared in November, 1943. It is fairly logical to believe then that the paper has been published at intervals of less than one month.

The paper contains reports of soldiers' grievances, of abuse of authority by Nazi officers, of the Gestapo's dirty work. There are numerous fascinating articles about the war situation which invariably conclude that Hitler has already lost the war and that Germany is heading towards catastrophe unless the Nazi regime is destroyed.

Every issue of the paper contains a separate section with the heading "*Oesterreicher*" (Austrians). This section is particularly interesting because it shows that the Austrian soldiers in Hitler's Wehrmacht are generally more advanced in their opposition than the rest of the German soldiers.

The September 1943 issue gives a vivid picture of the failure of the Nazi High Command to carry on the great summer offensive at Kursk. The Austrians are asked to think of ways of leaving the sinking ship of the Reich. "Our soldier's honor," says the leading article, "is non-existent, as far as the Hitler army is concerned. It will be restored only when we again have our own Austrian army. A true Austrian is not and must not be a courageous Hitler soldier. He communicates with his Austrian comrades, sabotages the service, is as lazy as possible. A true Austrian seizes every opportunity at the front to surrender to the anti-Hitler armies. He becomes a deserter while on furlough, and joins the armed groups of deserters who are hiding in the Alpine Mountains. Unrest is stirring in Austria. Already workers and business men, Catholics, peasants, professors form the common groups of the Austrian Liberation Front. The day after the big Allied air raid on the city of Wiener Neustadt, all plants were at a standstill. The workers did not go to work. Again, the old slogan of Andreas Hofer [the leader of the Tyrolean revolt against the Napoleonic invaders and occupants, back in 1809] is alive: "Men, it is time!"

anas-Carolines-New Guinea-East Indies.

ALMOST at the antipodes of Kwajalein, the Red Army has precipitated what may well be known in the future as the beginning of the disintegration of the German Eastern Front. In order to understand the full meaning of this development, it is important to realize the following: The German General Staff is not a bunch of morons. They are far more realistic, intelligent, and cunning than the military reviewer, to take one example, of the New York *Times*. They know that they cannot win the war by military action. They cannot strike a "deal" with Moscow. They are really afraid only of the Red Army. What, then, can their course be? The only course could be this: tell some court friends of theirs among the Western Allies through some devious channel (like the Bank of International Settlements, for instance): we can still hold the Reds in the East, providing we can remove those divisions from western Europe and send them east. You will invade us from the west and we will put up a show of resistance only. *You* occupy Europe and Germany with your AMG, with which we can very easily get along, and keep "undergrounds and revolutions" in check. *We* will hold the fort against the Reds.

The main argument and inducement in this proposition is, of course, "*We* can still hold the Reds in the East." Now it appears that this is precisely what the Germans *cannot do*. So the whole attempt at striking a deal falls through. The Germans only three weeks ago had three great bulwarks in the East: the Leningrad *place d'armes*, the central bulge built on the Dnieper fortresses of the Orsha-Mozyr line, and the Dnieper Bend *place d'armes*. Now the Leningrad bulge has been cracked and the Germans will be lucky if, with the help of unseasonably warm weather, they can cling for a while to the line of the Narova River, Lakes Peipus and Pskov and to the presumably strongly fortified line from Pskov to Polotsk.

The central bulge has been dented by the capture of the Kalinkovichi-Mozyr fortified complex. Part of its communications have been blocked by the semi-isolation of Vitebsk and Zhlobin. To the south of the bulge loom the terrible Pripet Marshes *which have not frozen over*. In the Marshes the Russians can operate better than the Germans, so this obstacle is of a one-sided character. In this case what is sauce for the goose is *not* sauce for the gander.

In the Ukraine, General Vatutin's First Ukrainian Front by a swift and powerful blow has broken through the German fronts near Rovno. With his right flank resting securely on the Pripet Marshes to the north, he thrust forward to Rovno and Lutsk, menacing the six-way junction of Kovel, which is the last important junction short of Warsaw along this operational direction. Thus Vatutin's vanguards are more than 450 miles to the west of the German army group still clinging to the lower Dnieper. A flank-march of 450 miles from Nikopol and Kherson along a single trunk line via Zhmerinka into Poland must be completely ruled out. Thus the German Ukrainian army group must eventually retire into Rumania. This is a retreat on diverging lines. It means the breakup of the front.

Furthermore, the two German salients in the Kanev-Smela-Mironovka and Apostolovo-Nikopol-Krivoi Rog areas in the Ukraine have just been cut off, with ten German divisions isolated in the first, and five in the second. We do not know how many men there are in these traps, just as we do not know how many Germans will be caught in the Luga trap south of Leningrad. The figures of "150,000 men" caught south of Kanev are the responsibility of the copy-desks of the American papers, not of the Soviet High Command. But it is plausible to expect about 200,000 men to be annihilated in the three traps. German divisions after the going-over they have been subjected to don't count anything like 15,000 men in their ranks; thus twenty-five divisions might amount only to 200,000 men, of which perhaps not more than ten percent will live to surrender. The deplorable position the German front finds itself in can also be gauged from the following: the airline distance between the extremities of the huge battle-line is 1,000 miles (Narva-Kerch); the length of the actual front is 2,000 miles. This is how the Germans have succeeded in "shortening" their front during the winter battle of 1943-1944.

UNFORTUNATELY we were only too right last week when we said that the Germans in Italy were far from being in a hopeless situation. Right now they are massing troops (if a few divisions can be called "masses") for that long-delayed counterblow against our Anzio beachhead. During the next few days, or maybe weeks, we are going to fight for our lives in the beachhead instead of fighting for Rome. On the main front Cassino has been reported encircled by Allied troops. However, so much false news has been written about Cassino that the latest should be taken with a grain of salt. In any case our Italian campaign is not out of the "bog."

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THE WEEK IN LONDON by CLAUDE COCKBURN

FRANCO'S FRENZIED FRIENDS

London (by wireless).

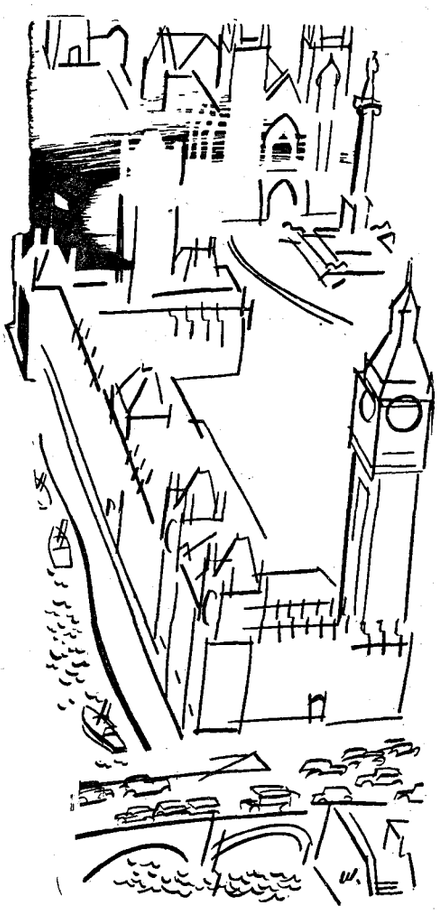
THE British public this past week followed the drama in Spain with intense interest. That public has always felt a keen and special involvement resulting from the passionate history of the "civil" war. It is not too much to say that a large proportion of British men and women in the street regarded the news of the oil ban as the best piece of news on Allied policy since they heard that the Allies were supporting Tito in Yugoslavia. It is not surprising that the British public, in view of policies pursued both during and before the war, has a tendency to regard with extreme suspicion all actions involving individuals associated or identified with the old Munich policies. If it is known that Sir Samuel Hoare, the ambassador to Madrid, approves some line of policy towards Spain, then it is to be expected that large numbers of Britishers will assume that there must be something wrong with the line.

A hint of the uncertainty felt even now occurs, for example, in an editorial published last week in the London *Daily Herald*, organ of Transport House, the headquarters of the Labor Party and Trades Union Congress. This editorial concludes as follows: "The British and American governments have shown great consideration, perhaps too great, for the needs of the Franco government. They have waited long and patiently, perhaps too long and too patiently. But they can wait no longer. They ask that Franco shall behave like a neutral. They will no longer be satisfied by his declarations. The decision is in the hands of Franco and his ministers. They are free to choose. But should they choose the course of trying to help Germany while professing neutrality then they must accept inevitably the consequences of their choice."

Naturally the editorial is directed principally to the Spanish government. But it is fairly safe to assume that it is intended as a warning not only to Franco but to any of his friends abroad who may be preparing new tricks for the salvation of Spanish fascism and the thoroughly unneutral type of "neutrality." They are warned that they must no longer rely on their ability to achieve in London successes of which they have been able to boast and from which they have drawn immense profit to the detriment of the United Nations.

IT HAS been assumed in informed circles here for some time that the variations in policy towards Spain have been due at least as much to the different, shall we say, theories of desirable objectives prevalent in Allied capitals as to variations in Franco's real policy. It has been sufficiently clear that while the Spanish press now puts up a fantastic barrage of complaint against the Allied attitudes, in reality, as the London *Daily Herald* suggests, the Allies have for one reason and another acted with—to say the least—staggering moderation.

Last week's reports of a reorganization of the Falange point straight to the heart of the matter. For in the opinion of many informed people here the situation could be summed up thus: only by the elimination of the Falange and all that it implies can the Axis power in Spain be broken. But it is extremely dubious whether the fabric of the Spanish regime can survive a genuine elimination of the Falange. If this be true, then it is no longer a question of some moderate adjustment of Spanish foreign policy, which, it was generally thought, might be a practical possibility some months and even weeks ago. Then there did seem, and perhaps there really was, a practical possibility that vigorous action by the Allies —particularly after Mussolini's fall—might succeed in rallying support from the very widest sections, stretching from right to left, of all Spanish political groupings opposed to the Falange and interested in the creation of a new regime capable of handling the situation created by the first break in the Axis.



It looks, according to information in London, as though this possibility is now considerably fainter. The Falange has been given a deplorably long time to dig in. German "tourists" have been pouring into Spain. Axis and Vatican propaganda have succeeded in building up a strong body of reactionary opinion around the proposition that the war has reached a stalemate. This proposition was best expressed by the semi-official Spanish newspaper, *Ya*, which is the vehicle of the same sort of Bolshevist bogey propaganda expressed in Hitler's most recent speech.

Naturally, when I speak of the building up of a body of reactionary opinion on this issue I mean to emphasize not the body of opinion, which of course is and has been the "orthodox" opinion of Spanish ruling circles since Franco's victory in the Spanish war, but precisely the issue on which this opinion and this propaganda is concentrating at the present moment. One has only to read the dispatches of the London *Times'* Madrid correspondent to understand to what extent the forces of Vatican fascism, with tentacles in Vichy and Latin America, are now concentrated and centered in Madrid as the last headquarters of reaction against the movement of events, against the progress and final consummation of victory in the people's war of which Teheran was the outstanding expression and guarantee.

These forces, closely linked with Berlin, are, it would seem, now more than ever dubious of the possibility of maintaining themselves without maintaining a general policy which perfectly suits that of the Axis. This means maintaining the Falange, either openly or in some changed disguise, as the principal political force in Spain. Therefore, it would seem that an intensified effort will be made in Madrid to persuade all those open to persuasion that Anglo-American pressure, if exerted to the full, can now produce nothing but the horrors of popular democracy. And that even now the Allies must pull their punches in order to save, if not Franco, at least some regime which while presenting itself as pro-Allied, or at least as highly critical of Berlin, will really and inevitably remain the western center of the same kind of policy of which Vichy is the representative.

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REVIEW and COMMENT

GREETING TO THE PRESIDENT

"Under your leadership the columns of our nation march . . . toward the morning of brotherhood.". . . Cultural leaders salute the Commander-in-Chief.

The following is a birthday greeting to the President, sent by more than 300 major figures in the various fields of culture—art, literature, and science—and presented to the Commander-in-Chief by Jo Davidson, prominent sculptor, on January 29. NEW MASSES *feels that its readers everywhere will welcome and appreciate the significance of this warm pledge of support to the President, the Teheran agreement, and national unity. It is reprinted here in full, together with all its signers.*

TO THE Honorable Franklin Delano Roosevelt: President of the United States: On this your sixty-second birthday, we greet you and wish you good health.

We celebrate your birthday anniversary in the fifth year of the great global war which will determine whether we live upon the earth as free men or in bondage. In this supreme crisis, you gathered and directed the people's strength. In our behalf you journeyed to Teheran. There with Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin you affixed our name to a mighty document which closes with the historic message:

"Emerging from these friendly conferences we look with confidence to the day when all peoples of the world may live free lives untouched by tyranny and according to their own consciences. We came here with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit, and in purpose."

These words are the great hope which shines out upon the lifting darkness of our time. This is our testament to the living, our faith with the dead. This is our pledge to the generations still unborn.

The United Nations march toward victory and peace. Our victorious swords shall be beaten into ploughshares, and men of all races and creeds live upon the earth equal and proud. There will be time for song and the rebuilding of the cities. Out of the ashes, out of the hunger and desolation, the people of the earth go forward.

We salute you, our nation's leader. We pledge unbreakable national unity around you, our Commander-in-Chief. We are ready for sacrifice and battle.

Under your leadership, the columns of our nation march, one hundred and thirty million strong, toward the new dawn, the morning of brotherhood.

Franklin P. Adams, Don Ameche, Daniel Aaron, Samuel T. Arnold, Larry Adler, John Taylor Arms, Jean Arthur, Thomas Addis, Louis Adamic, Constantin Alajalov, Bud Abbott, Alexander Archipenko, Annabella.

Thomas Hart Benton, Alexander Baltzly, Edwin Berry Burgum, John Malcolm Brinnin, Millen Brand, Tallulah Bankhead, Dorothy Brewster, Van Wyck Brooks, Dean Burk, Samuel Hugh Brockunier, Faith Baldwin, Janet Blair, Ray A. Billington, George Balanchine, Kenneth Burke, Sidney Buckman, Humphrey Bogart, Cecil Brown, William Beebe, Lyman R. Bradley, Alexander Brook, Charles E. Burchfield, Howard Barnes, L. M. Birkhead, Himan Brown, Maurice Becker, J. Edward Bromberg, William Rose Benet, David D. Burliuk, Count Basie, Louis Bouche, Erik Barnouw.

Norman Corwin, Cheryl Crawford, Dr. Walter B. Cannon, Rachel Crothers, Willson H. Coates, Russel Crouse, Nicolai Cikovsky, Eddie Cantor, John F. Carlson, Henry Seidel Canby, Katherine Cornell, Harry J. Carman, Russell Cowles, Countee Cullen, Bennet Cerf, O. C. Carmichael, Ephraim Cross, Dean Cornwell, Ilka Chase, Addison T. Cutler, Samuel Chotzinoff, James Cagney, Louis Calhern, Robert M. Cronbach, Aaron Copland, Marc Connelly, Lou Costello, Rufus E. Clement, Thomas Craven.

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Walter Prichard Eaton, Fred Ellis, Abraham Edel, Hannah Eagan, Philip Evergood, Florence Eldridge, Duke Ellington, Max Etheridge.

Jose Ferrer, Alice Faye, Hallie Flanagan, Joseph K. Folsom, G. Lowell Field, Jinx Falkenberg, Edna Ferber, D. R. Fitzpatrick, Marshall Field, Y. Frank Freeman, Howard Fast, Rose Franken, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Ernest Fiene, James Montgomery Flagg, Clifton Fadiman.

Betty Grable, William Gropper, Harry Gottlieb, Robert Gwathmey, Dean Christian Gauss, Herbert F. Goodrich, Harry Grundfest, John Groth, Rev. Robert I. Gannon, S. J., Cary Grant, Harold K. Guinsberg, Max Gordon, John Golden, Morton Gould, Ruth Gordon, Will Geer, John Gassner, Abel Green, Chaim Gross, Wanda Gag, Greer Garson, Samuel Goldwyn.

Sonja Henie, Sergeant Harry Horner, William C. Handy, Bob Hope, Syd Hoff, Michael Heidelberger, Walter Hampden, Jascha Heifetz, Helen Hayes, Langston Hughes, Peter Hurd, Al Hirschfeld, Malvina Hoffman, Fannie Hurst, Josef Hoffman, Oscar Hammerstein II, Cecil Howard, Rackham Holt, Doris Humphrey, Jed Harris, John Holmgren.

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Oliver La Farge, Philip Loeb, Irving Langmuir, Robert Laurent, Oliver Larkin, Dorothy Lamour, Bert James Loewenberg, Howard Lindsay, Alain Locke, Louis Lozowick, John Howard Lawson, David Lardner, Bert Lytell, Max Lerner, Lotte Lehmann, Hedy La Marr, Julian E. Levi, Erle Loran, Canada Lee, Gertrude Lawrence, Leonard Lyons.

Henry E. Mattson, F. O. Matthiessen, Robert K. Merton, Percy MacKaye, Yehudi Menuhin, William

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Phillip Reisman, Norman Rosten, Anton Refregier, A. D. F. Reinhardt, Homer P. Rainey, Elmer Rice, Boardman Robinson, Ernest Reiss, Jane E. Robbins, Hugo Robus, Norman Rockwell, Robert Rossen, Paul Robeson, Ginger Rogers, Mischa Richter, Richard Rodgers, Claude Rains.

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Abraham Tromka, Charles E. Trinkhaus, Jr., Dorothy Thompson, Lawrence Tibbett, Deems Taylor, Genevieve Taggard, Spencer Tracy.

Louis Untermeyer.

Mark Van Doren, Carl Van Doren.

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William Zorach, Vera Zorina.

"Rock-a-bye," sculpture in lithium stone by Chaim Gross.

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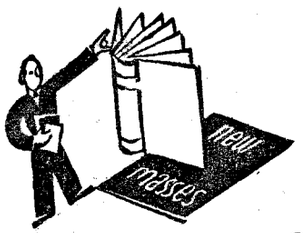

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Two Novels

THE PEOPLE FROM HEAVEN, *by John Sanford. Harcourt Brace. $2.50.*

THE SIGNPOST, *by E. Arnot Robertson. Macmillan. $2.50.*

"THE PEOPLE FROM HEAVEN" is pervaded by a single bitter emotion. One might call it wrath—the kind of wrath which the Puritan fanatic of the seventeenth century called forth from his Jehovah upon his enemies. But this wrath is here directed against the very heritage of fanaticism and bigotry in America. Sanford's people from heaven are the inheritors of all the evil ideas and forces in American life, and they are once more set, in their backward, isolated community, for a reign of persecution and intolerance.

The novel carries its ominous note of warning at the same time that it provides nothing but arrogant scorn and mordant laughter at the evil it so fantastically pursues. Those who would fight it, the characters who detest the fascist indecencies and provocations of the village bravos, seem baffled, sunk into the slime of this community, and the one for whom they fight, the Negro woman America Smith, is an allegorical figure. Yet her presence allows Sanford, quite transparently, to transcend the hard naturalism with which he writes about this village, for her almost mystical sublimity provides a startling contrast between the symbolic portent of the suffering of her race and the base passions that her appearance arouses.

But if one wishes to savor Sanford's emotion, he will find it consistently present in the strange literary anatomy the novelist has constructed. Rarely has such an essentially naturalistic approach to familiar literary matter appeared in such rich and conventionally antipodal vestments. What we take at first glance as poetry reads like prose, but what ostensibly is prose is studded with precious refinements of notation, clearly drawn from the verbal devices of modern poetry. I can remember some astounding sentences and forget entire episodes. Yet I will not forget soon Sanford's burlesque of Jonathan Edward's God (here in the hands of an Angry Sinner) and I venture the opinion that it is an authentic addition to the store of American humor. But this specialized brilliance of writing becomes a disharmony when we cannot accept it as a just variation on the central theme.

Briefly, this is a particularly unlovely account of the ugly trail scarred by race hatred through a backward community of upstate New York. Such a cursed, unhappy lot of people you read about only in American regional fiction. The natives of Faulkner and Caldwell find a little time at least for something besides hating, but not the folk of this upstate Sodom. They kill each other daily with their eyes, and if you think they don't mean it, you can find a whole arsenal of weapons in their kitchens. Even the local man of God marvels that he cannot bring himself up to the standard of violence which the town has set. Such a superfluity of malignance leaves one numb. Since the common heritage of this community is a crazed individualism—with long-standing hatreds and instinctive aversions to the traditional commodities of social life—it is not surprising that every character in the book seems warped to some degree. For this reason, it is futile to examine the lines that are drawn among the townsmen over the specific racial situation that arises in the story, at least, if you are looking for some revealing comment on forces today in opposition in American life. These people are rotted with hatred, and just as instinctive and natural to them is the violence with which it must go hand in hand.

I wonder whether Sanford feels that all this adds up satisfactorily. I, for one, lost interest in what the total was supposed to be long before the end of the book. I was distracted by Sanford's literary embroidery, I was fascinated by his fluent use of unusual idioms of speech, I was curious about his bedevilment of the ministry, and I became fatigued with his relentless pursuit of biting ironies and contrasts.

"THE SIGNPOST" is the story of the brief disengagement of two people from the tensions of war at a time when the great air battles were being fought over England. The situation of these two people is one that only this war could evoke: the war brings them together, the war makes their response to each other a miracle of spontaneous understanding. But in reading about Tom Fairburn and Denyse Messagere one is never reminded of how trite, how inexplicable, their emotions may seem, as a commonplace of the many meetings and *affaires* for which the war seems to assume an automatic responsibility. E. Arnot Robertson has presented them, wisely, effectively, with the sharpened insight of a writer who never needs to rely on explanation exterior to character, through her complete awareness of the impact already planted in them by the war. Thus, though the war's great forces and issues are only obliquely registered in their outward experience, the war is implicit in every event, the knowledge of it undisclosed, but subtly present, in every moment of the novel. Since there is no background in the story Miss Robertson's point of concentration is the meaning of the experience to the characters, and here her control of fiction is unmistakable. These are people, she has made clear, who must recover a sense of rightness with themselves before they can face the objective pressure of living and working in wartime; therefore, the inner necessity to love is an imperative prerequisite to the wartime necessity to hate. But this restriction on the

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interest of character in no sense qualifies its validity as nourishment for a battered morale.

It is a part of this novelist's remarkable ability that her characters emerge slowly, and only through the process of their revelation to others. Though the felicity and charm of this may be perceived at the first meeting of Tom and Denyse, it is not until the two are settled for their short holiday at Kildooey that they come close to each other through their association with the Irish folk of this neighborhood. What Tom Fairburn could have never managed successfully by himself—the self-forgetting for self-preservation which his war-frayed nerves seem to demand, through an escape into the quiet unchanged life of an Irish fishing village—he discovers is possible with Denyse. Together they escape the danger of a quick shallow retreat through unending self-confession by becoming a part of the village.

And here the sad immutability of Irish village life enters, as a curtain rises on a play within a play: a brief tragedy acted out by other players tormented by passions and perplexities which offer the onlookers either solution, relief, or a mocking commentary to their own dilemmas. The encircling stage is forgotten—the clouded impersonal world tragedy, which, if unperceived through self-occlusion of sight, brings distraction. In their absorption in this small sector of humanity, Tom and Denyse deepen their own knowledge of each other and regain the perspective that they must have to act at all in the "real" play. This happens, convincingly, without mystery, only with the complexity any dialectic contrast has for anyone who has become hypersensitive through the sustained shock of wartime experience.

The profound irony of the novel, which in no way alters the psychological verity of Kildooey's effect on Tom and Denyse, is that their restoration of hope comes out of the intense despair of Kildooey. Perhaps that may be fathomed as the revivifying power of a "pastoral illusion" which people as sophisticated as Tom and Denyse may respond to. It is true that they take from Kildooey more than they give, though Bridie and her Aunt Mary Sullivan would candidly deny that. But for all of their freshening their senses from these remarkable people, they are brought too close to the private springs of the misery of the young in Kildooey not to understand how much the present, of which they are the symbol, must mark change through some tragedy. And when that tragedy occurs, really through the slightest disturbance in the lives of two young people, the weight of its remorse can be judged by what Tom says to Denyse: "It isn't much to have bought at such an awful price." And what he has learned comes quite simply to this: "There's a sort of perspective gets lost when one's worried in a personal way: the

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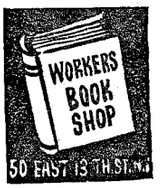

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sort that makes it possible to believe someone else's death might really be as tragic as one's own." But then he has withdrawn from the play, and the altered perspective, one sees at once, is the one thing required on the larger span of the stage.

ALL the praise one might bestow on the expertness of this writing may be comprised in a recognition of firm control of subject: particularly the remarkable juxtaposition of Tom and Denyse against the village folk of Kildooey and the resourceful way in which characters are developed against each other. Of Ireland, the unhappy "land of the old," this is a sad and foreboding picture, unreclaimed by any "poetry" one may find in the people, but of great human interest for the contradictions that are revealed. Miss Robertson's study of the priest, Father Keith, deserves more attention, for what is manifest in his contradictions is spoken with exquisite clarity, yet the justice of her treatment in no way compromises one's judgment. And though she may lose her friends in Eire as she anticipates, I cannot believe that she has done them any disservice in her novel.

I should like to say finally that the novel, as war literature, has a tonic quality, though it may prove disagreeable to those who scoff at anything discovered through a fundamental respect for humanity grounded in emotions as naive as love or wonder, and living discovered in joy in building and talking with simple folk. The prophets of confusion and retreat, who have scraped the black pit of their own brains and found their spines an uncomfortable appendage thereto, shout loudly to each other in a void of their own making. Out of their narrow class appeal they can establish no connections with the people meaningfully involved in this war. But even within the limitations of a love story, there can be a depth of understanding, a realization of the fruitfulness of a simple experience for extending and fortifying the will to live and to strengthen the desire to take part in the exhausting but imperative tasks of this war. That kind of fiction, I believe, Miss Robertson has given us here.

ALAN BENOIT.

Looking at Science

(*Continued from page 15*)

the Grumman *Hellcat* with its leak-proof gas tanks. The remarkable new jet-propelled plane, super-aircraft carriers of 45,000 tons, an eight-ton Navy torpedo plane *Seawolf*, new wind tunnels, transportable hangars and robot planes which have already entered into maneuvers with ground forces.

Prospecting madly for the world's supplies can well be understood in an emergency year. The Russians have organized numerous surveys. American opinion has it that petroleum will be produced in the region around the North Pole. Nature itself obliged us with the spectacle of the birth of a new volcano, Paricutin, about 200 miles west of Mexico City. Earthquakes are still Japan-hostile. Precious deposits have been found of immediate use in war, as quartz for radar, vanadium for steel, and tantalum for surgical and electrical equipment.

Technologies are being revolutionized. Gas turbines can now operate at 1,500° Fahrenheit because of remarkable heat resistant alloys. There are excellent tubeless tires under development. Some are filled with anti-freeze. Electroplating with tin and silver has been made extremely fast and economical. Plastics cannot be discussed here in detail only because of the magnitude of the development. We shall have non-skid plastics, optical glasses made without sand, water paints for cement, plastic lithographic plates, better photographic development, better welding both of metal and wood, marvelous gas masks which reuse precious air at high altitudes, air-conditioning for the average home, and gadgets by the thousands.

THE elusive mind is being rendered more and more materialistic by the exigencies of war. Even psychoanalysis is turning materialistic. The psychiatrists will have their "Guadalcanal neurosis" and the "Brooklyn syndrome" (a chip-on-the-shoulder defensiveness), but they have to come down to serious physiological effects in the consideration of "boiler-makers' deafness" which depends on easy hearing fatigue, so subject to abuse in cannonading. Efforts are being made to measure fatigue objectively, e.g., by response to vibrations of a tuning fork.

Practical steps have had to be taken in establishing rumor clinics, which number about forty. There has been learned talk about morale. They say it has twelve components. At any rate, it seems that headlines which emphasize bad news affect it much more favorably than the pollyanna headlines. And, think of it, they have produced a questionnaire to eliminate unnecessary questionnaires! And so on and so on. And all the way down the line we have the learned sociologists who at last seem to have discovered anti-Semitism. But they ain't explaining yet.

New Soviet Changes

(*Continued from page 4*)

finance, trade, justice, public health and state control. But above all these, the Union Republics have the right to secede—a right which represents the highest measure of autonomy and a right which Stalin defended against those who opposed it.

There are more Lerner violations of fact but one in particular stands out—an assertion that the USSR is engaging in power politics by adding sixteen votes to its bar-

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gaining position. What, he asks, would happen if we adopted the same practice and our own forty-eight states appointed their own ambassadors and signed separate treaties? The comparison between the sixteen Union Republics and the forty-eight states has absolutely no foundation in fact, history, ethnography, or anything else. The sixteen republics represent *sixteen different nations*, each with its own language, customs, traditions, literature, culture, and psychological makeup, all of them historically evolved—not a phenomenon that took place over night. Some of these nations are as different from each other as India is from Canada. Mr. Lerner would have us believe the British Commonwealth is a "historical fact" and, therefore, entitled to six votes for its dominions, the Soviet multi-national state, on the other hand, is "an overnight paper construction" and, therefore, not entitled to separate representations abroad. The fact is that many of the Soviet nations are as old as any on earth and older than some of the members of the Commonwealth. Their existence was not recognized by the czarist regimes but that makes them no less an "historical fact."

Integral to Lerner's power politics mania is that the Rusians are interested in getting sixteen extra votes at some future world legislative assembly or peace conference. Out of such thinking, Lerner establishes a new bogey: instead of there being one Bolshevik "menace" there will now be sixteen. Such is the political sewer from which the noxious gases rise. Interestingly enough Hearst's New York *Mirror* (February 3) gets the same idea across in a cartoon on that newspaper's editorial page.

Walter Lippmann has replied to what he calls Lerner's "amateurish objection." This is a reply that comes not from the Reds but from a conservative publicist, and he says that it is impossible that decisions at a peace conference "will be taken by counting votes. Obviously, the only way the decisions can be taken is under the leadership of the great powers and by their consent, and in consultation and, so far as possible, in agreement with the other powers which are concerned with the decision. Voting cannot and will not be the method of deciding the great issues. . . ." The idea that a show of hands will determine the future may prevail in the world of college classrooms, but in the real world issues are decided by conciliation and conference.

Happily, Lerner's hue and cry was not the dominant note in press reaction—at least not here in the East. Americans, heart and soul behind Teheran, can see quite beyond the tips of their noses. For it is clear, as Molotov put it, that the new Soviet decisions contribute to the moral and political defeat of fascism—fascism which exterminates nations and gives them the diplomatic autonomy of a self-perpetuating treaty with the graveyard.

JOHN STUART.

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

"SONG OF BERNADETTE"

Daniel Prentiss reviews the film version of Franz Werfel's novel. What is its meaning for us today?. . . Movie round-up.

IN SPITE of the fact that Miss Kate Cameron of the New York *Daily News* has proclaimed the *Song of Bernadette* "the greatest picture ever made," the film merits serious consideration. For Twentieth Century-Fox's retelling of the Franz Werfel novel is an elaborate masterpiece of a sort. Made with great care, employing a cast of expert players and a superb ensemble of technicians, *Bernadette* is a full-scale demonstration of the resources the industry has at its command. But even if this film had been a "quickie," let us say, it would still demand attention and analysis—if only for the circumstance that it promises to be but the first of an extensive series of similar subjects. For example, *The Robe*, from Lloyd Douglas' novel, and *Keys of the Kingdom* are going into production immediately.

What about the *Song of Bernadette*, then? What is its meaning for us today? The film tells us by wide inference and in strictly circumscribed symbols that revelation can come to the lowly of station—the son of the carpenter, to Bernadette Soubirous, whose father, an unemployed miller, has been reduced to carting away refuse for the price of a loaf of bread—as well as to the secure, the ordained, and mighty ones of the world. This, we submit, is an idea that can be accepted as inarguably valid—an idea that gives the film whatever appositeness to our lives it possesses. When *this* is the burden and content of *Bernadette* the film can affect your sympathies; a sensitiveness of treatment, a humanness makes itself evident.

All else in *Bernadette*, in my opinion, fails to make contact with today, fails to establish its significance. As perhaps the reader is aware, *Bernadette* is the story of the miracle of Lourdes—the appearance of the Immaculate Conception to child Bernadette of the Soubirous family. There can be no objection to cinematic treatment of the theme from any quarter whatsoever. But the film-goer, I believe, is justified in expecting that the theme in its development will touch him and his problems closely, and bring him light. But in the main, *Bernadette* is a withdrawing from life and a withholding of light. The miracle in *Bernadette* is strictly a miracle *in camera*. It is largely miracle for miracle's sake. And by far the primary concern of the film is to insist on the genuineness of Soubirous' vision and to heap derision on those that differ. From this intent the film never departs. This reviewer has seen films on the miraculous before. I have in mind, particularly, Carl Dreyer's memorable *Joan of Arc*. The Maid of Orleans beheld visions, consorted with voices, but to the end that France liberate itself from the oppressor and regain statehood. Can there be any comparison between the pertinence of *Joan*, which bids us arm ourselves, and the retreats of *Bernadette?*

Bernadette runs approximately two hours and thirty-five minutes. By today's standards a running time of that length is not outside the pale of acceptance. Yet I have never observed more general writhing and shifting than in the gala premiere audience of *Bernadette* during the last hour of the run-through. It couldn't have been because the *theme* of the film—the miracle of Lourdes—was too slight to justify some fifteen reels of footage. Themes of themselves impose no length limitations. Lawrence Sterne takes chapters to get one of his characters down a flight of steps. On the other hand, Karl Marx once answered a question on what constitutes the essence of life, with a single word—struggle. *Bernadette's* theme, then, is of itself not at fault. In my opinion, the audience's restlessness is the consequence exclusively of the film's *point of view*—which proves increasingly tangential, and finally stifling.

WHAT makes it even more difficult for this reviewer to reconcile himself to the picture under consideration is its marked intolerance. In this regard, we discover that the New York *Times'* reviewer, Mr. Bosley Crowther, received somewhat a similar impression. Writes Mr. Crowther: "The *Song of Bernadette* in our opinion, makes a rather dogmatic statement at the start which tags its contents for special pleading. 'For those who believe in God,' says the foreword, 'no explanation is necessary. For those who do not believe in God, no explanation is possible.' That is by way of putting its critics in a questionable light, which is something like handling them a ballot on which the

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only possible vote is 'yes.'" As Mr. Crowther rightly perceives, the film's foreword makes it appear as if Twentieth Century-Fox were saying, "Boys, either you go for our film or you're non-believers, and if in addition you don't hold with the specific ritual and concepts presented, your name goes down in the book just the same."

Apart from the foreword, moreover, this intolerant attitude—a refusal of *Bernadette's* ideologists to live in peace with those of differing tenets—is intrinsic to the thought and structure of the film proper. It's one thing to express belief in the genuineness of Our Lady's appearance to Bernadette Soubirous, the curative value of the waters miraculously sprung from the earth. It is quite another matter, however, to insist that those who don't share your beliefs are wheezing, conniving, blackhearted dwarfs. It is quite another matter when in order to advance your claim that Bernadette Soubirous is the true chalice of the Lord, you find it necessary to hold up to ridicule and question the honesty of medical science, for example.

Indeed, the characterizations of the opponents of Bernadette—for instance, the psychiatrist whom Vital Dutour, the imperial prosecutor of Lourdes, employs to judge the maid insane—are of a vehemence and a crudeness that is difficult to convey to the reader. Another instance of the bellicose temper of *Bernadette* occurs to me. Why do the Mayor of Lourdes and his bureaucrat cronies persecute Bernadette? It seems that a railroad is about to extend its lines to the city. The Mayor fears that the miracle of Lourdes will give the city undesirable publicity and that consequently the plans for the railroad will fall through. Here then the *railroad* becomes the enemy!

A few additional words on the production character of the *Song of Bernadette*. As previously indicated, great attention has been paid to its physical properties. That the production overreaches itself at times I attribute to the special strain imposed by the content of the film. Photographically it is too studied, pre-meditated. The method hit upon for the presentation of the Lady of Lourdes is far from adequate—a kind of glorified fireworks effect is employed. And a most unfortunate feature is Alfred Newman's score, which has managed to compile all existing musical cliches and add a few new ones—if such a thing is possible. We've had imitation Rachmaninoff and Wagner already, but spurious modal writing is perhaps a novelty.

DANIEL PRENTISS.

★

IN THE several weeks since this column has appeared your reviewer managed to cover some eight or nine films. Space not permitting extended consideration we will have to be content with a mere checklist. Of all items Walter Wanger's *Gung Ho* is far and away the most creditable. Save for a halting introduction, certain redundant commentary (the scenes are sufficiently clear to dispense with offstage speech) and love interest so obviously out of tune with matters in hand, *Gung Ho* is an effective picturization of how Major Carlson, inspired by his experiences while observing the Chinese Eighth Route Army, came to organize his battalion of marine raiders. The film concludes with the action on Makin Island. Ray Enright director; Milton Krassner photographer; featured players—Randolph Scott, Alan Curtis, J. Carrol Naish, Sam Levene, Noah Beery, Jr.

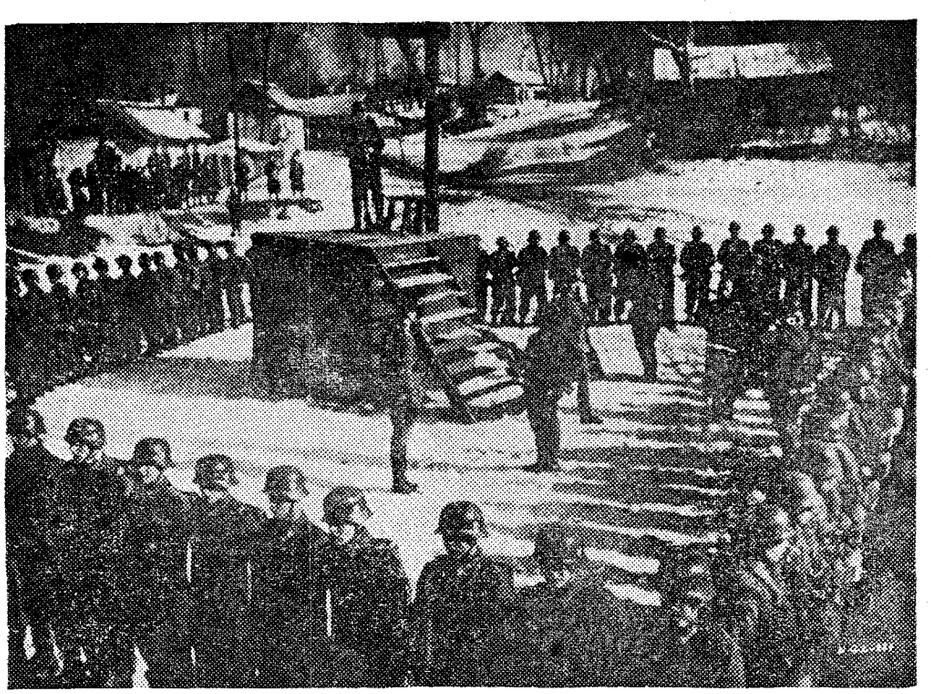
Between Monogram's *Where Are Your Children?* and March of Time's *Youth at the Crossroads* a pretty fair idea can be gained of some of the difficulties facing the younger generation of these war years. Of the two, March of Time's contribution is much the maturer article. It cannot be maintained, however, that either film comes near encompassing the ramifications of the juvenile delinquency problem. There is a liveliness to *Where Are Your Children?* that almost compensates for the film's commonplaces. Almost, but not really. It is a regrettable circumstance of the American film business that questions like slum clearance, juvenile delinquency, and related subjects are invariably turned over to the Dead End Kids outfits or to productions of as unimportant a character.

Higher and Higher (RKO: with Frank Sinatra and others; directed by Tim Whelan). I paid my admission and eventually found a seat, but don't hold your breath for any coherent report. From what I was permitted to make out of the film, it seems to concern a certain scullery maid (Michele Morgan) whose fellow employes try to palm her off on the unsuspecting rich as one of their own. My impression is that the swindle didn't succeed. Mr. Sinatra seemed perfectly harmless. No one in the film responded to him with anything like the fervor of the infants sitting next to me, but maybe that's because they're actors and can pretend.

The Lodger (Twentieth Century-Fox): or "Jack the Ripper" and "London at the Turn of the Century" ("Gaslight"), and *Sherlock Holmes and the Spider Woman* (Universal), or the "Pajama Suicides"—in Holmes' own words: "The most startling series of crimes to strike London since the Jack the Ripper episode." As you can see here's a rather pretty, if fortuitous tie-up. To be perfectly frank, I would feel small loss if *The Lodger* hadn't come my way. At least the casualness of the Sherlock exercise mitigates its absurdities. I trust, however, that the numerous technicians who were involved in concocting the niceties of *The Lodger* will not consider my opinion a reflection on their abilities. Its production is far better than average.

Kings of the Ring—a compilation of the most celebrated prize-fights covered by the camera. Quite the richest windfall to date for the followers of the fancy. Equally interesting as Americana.

The Miracle of Morgan's Creek (Paramount: written and directed by Preston Sturges; photography by John Seitz; players—Eddie Bracken, Betty Hutton, Diana Lynn, William Demarest). Mr. Sturges can milk a gag like no one else in the busi-



American voices have been substituted on the original sound track.

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ness. It can't be denied that in this instance he continues tugging away long after all nutriment has been exhausted. Since by some sort of unspoken agreement reviewers have refrained from giving away the film's plot secrets I'll keep my silence To my mind, the film is not an indispensable article. Mr. Sturges, who has always made a show of eschewing the more obvious comic dodges of his confreres, strangely enough employs more pratfalls in *The Miracle* than any dozen of their efforts.

D. P.

Beginning next week Daniel Prentiss, whose film reviews have appeared regularly in NEW MASSES, *will be on leave of absence for approximately two months. Joseph Foster will handle the department in his absence.*

Aubrey Pankey, Baritone

A SONG recital that was both artistically and politically significant was given by the Negro baritone Aubrey Pankey at Carnegie Hall recently, before a large and very enthusiastic audience of both Negroes and whites. These events, which give one an opportunity to hear accomplished Negro artists, should be far more frequent.

Mr. Pankey has given many hundreds of concerts in Europe and the Near East and also in Latin America where he was sent by the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in Washington, along with other leading artists, on a cultural good will tour.

In his latest concert Mr. Pankey showed himself to be a sensitive artist with a sense of fine musicianship. But most important, he possesses a clear, rich natural voice of a lyrical nature which is a joy to hear. The highest points of the evening were his renditions of Schubert's "Ave Maria," given with dignity, strength, and tenderness, and a group of Negro spirituals sung so as to emphasize their plaintive and simple beauty. In these latter he let himself go and revealed a certain dramatic intensity often lacking in other parts of the program, as in the case of "Meadow Land" and the "Moorsoldaten," which he gave as encores. One has the impression that if he could only break down some of the reserve which his musical training has necessarily given him and let his emotions flow more freely, he would be able to infuse his music with a greater amount of this dramatic intensity—and incidentally, also lightness and humor. These qualities he can develop most if he concentrates more on the many-mooded songs of the people, whether they be black or white, or yellow or brown, and on the various forms of *Lieder*, which after all are essentially a developed type of folk song. This need not prevent him from going into the more elaborate type of modern song. Moreover such an approach will prevent him from burdening

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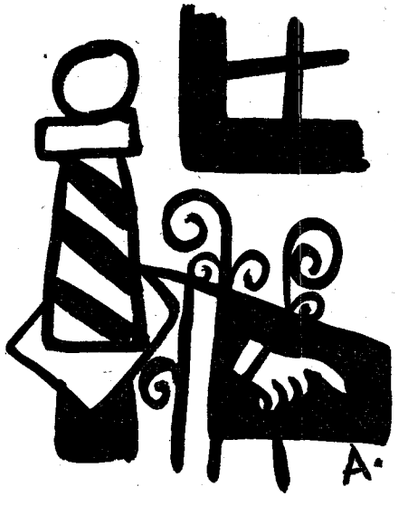
his program as he did in this concert with artificial and mediocre works such as the Latin American songs, which with the exception of "Viola," by Villa Lobos, were representative neither of Latin America nor of good music. This applies also to the "Russian" songs of Rachmaninoff. Mr. Pankey's talent is too good to waste on empty, "pseudo-art" music removed from the realities of life. His splendid voice is at its best, and this is to his credit, in singing music that is rooted deeply in the real emotions of real people. In this range he is one of our outstanding American singers.

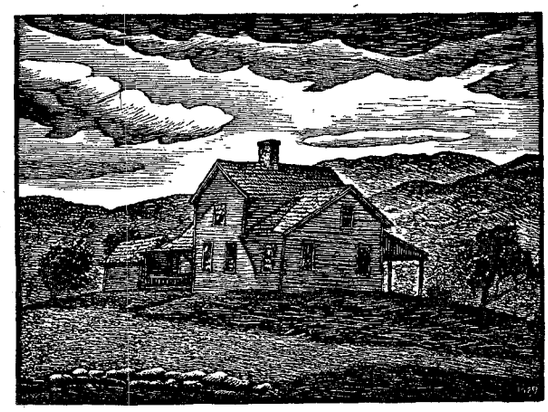
The National Negro Congress, which made this concert possible, is to be highly commended for its work. This is the first of an annual series in which the work of outstanding Negro artists will be brought before the public. We hope this initial success will be repeated and that similar concerts will be organized here and in other cities in the United States. This will be not only a means of enriching and unifying our American cultural life but will counteract the "unofficial" Jim Crow practices of much of our "official" music world.

PAUL ROSAS.

"Decision"

"Decision," the new play by Edward Chodorov, opened too late for review in this issue. Since we consider it the most important play of the year, it will be dealt with at length in next week's New Masses.





J. J. Lankes

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